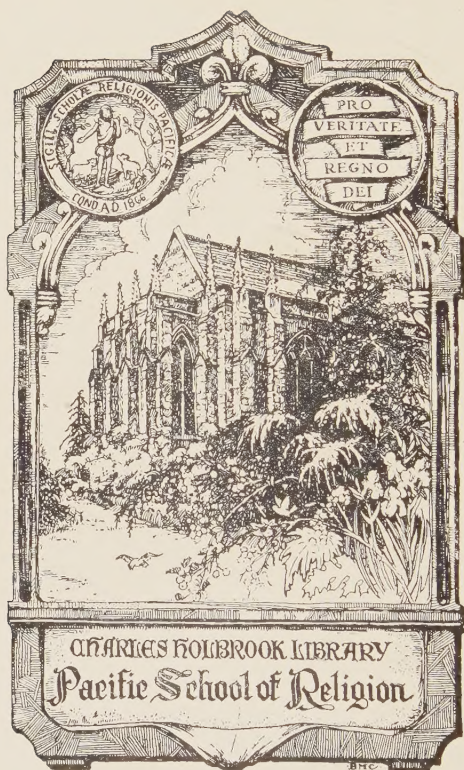
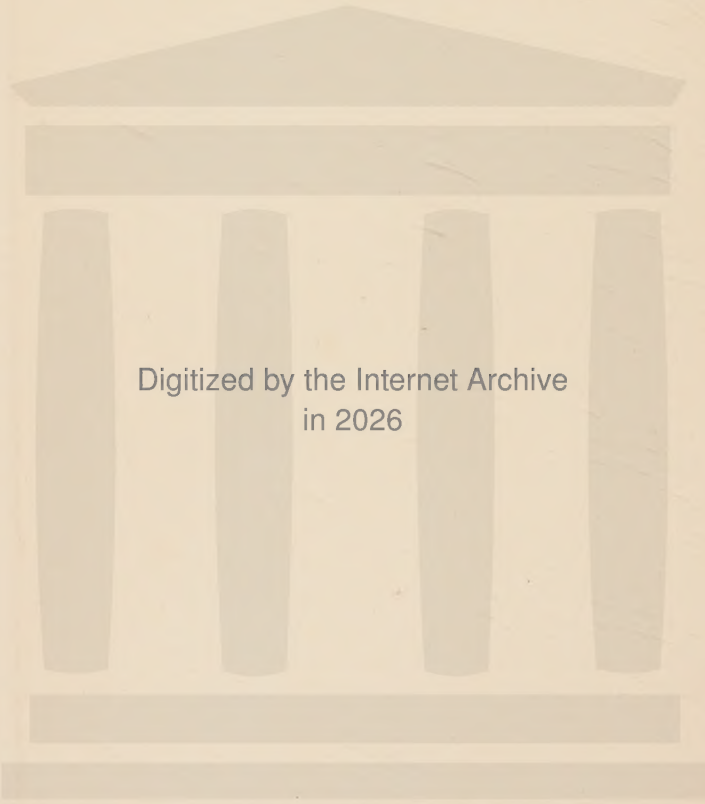




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Rabbi Irwin Reichert

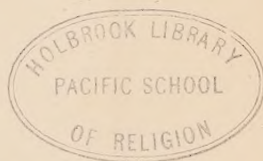


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The Lord Baltimore Press
BALTIMORE, MD., U. S. A.

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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DR. CYRUS ADLER, Philadelphia, Pa.;

ex-officio, as Past Presidents of the Society.

OBJECTS.

The object of this Society is to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of America, and to promote the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent. It is known that Jews in Spain and Portugal lent no inconsiderable aid to the voyages that led to the discovery of America, that a few accompanied the earliest discoverers and that Jews were among the first settlers on this continent, and in its adjacent islands. Considerable numbers saw service in the Colonial and Revolutionary wars, some of them with great distinction. Others contributed liberally to the Continental treasury, at critical periods, to aid in the establishment of Independence. Since the foundation of our government, Jews have played an active part in the political affairs of the country, and have been called upon to hold important public positions. The records of the achievements of these men will, when gathered together, prove of value and interest to the historian, and perchance cast light upon some obscure parts of the history of our country.

PREFACE.

The present volume includes a number of papers of general Jewish historical interest as well as such as bear a specific American Jewish appeal. The papers by Dr. Philipson, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, and Dr. Korn were presented at the annual meeting of 1920 in New York, while those written by Prof. Deutsch and Messrs. Kohler and Friedman date from the Philadelphia session of 1918. The necrologies, of which, alas, there are so many in this volume, embrace the biographical records of our deceased members, as presented to the twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth annual meetings of the Society.

The preparation of this volume, the issuance of which was delayed through economic circumstances following the close of the Great War, was entrusted to the following committee on publication: Albert M. Friedenberg, chairman, Prof. Alexander Marx and Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, with Dr. Cyrus Adler *ex officio*. When Dr. Adler, to the regret of the entire membership of the Society, retired from the office which he had filled so devotedly and successfully for over a score of years, the first act of the new president, Dr. Rosenbach, was to appoint him in his own place on the publication committee. This body, therefore, continues unchanged, and it is our hope and prayer that Dr. Adler will be spared for many years to extend to the Society and its activities the benefit of his wise counsel and expert advice.

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TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The twenty-seventh annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held in the McCarter Gallery of the Robert Treat Hotel, on Military Park, in the city of Newark, N. J. It began in the evening of Tuesday, February 11, 1919, continued in the morning of Wednesday, February 12, 1919, and ended in the afternoon of that day.

The president, Dr. Cyrus Adler, was in the chair and the recording secretary, Samuel Oppenheim, was secretary of the meeting. The proceedings were opened by the delivery of an address by Felix Fuld, the chairman of the committee on local arrangements, who introduced the president to the large audience present and welcomed the Society to this, its first session in Newark. The president followed with his annual address in which, after outlining the aims and labors of the Society, he sketched the history of the Jews of New Jersey.

The officers presented their annual reports. The corresponding secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg, announced that the Society had a total membership of 388 persons,—41 corresponding, and 347 active members,—on February 10, 1919. Since the previous report the Society lost 11 members by death, 4 members resigned, 6 members were dropped for non-payment of dues, and 1 member was stricken from the roll by executive order. Against these losses may be placed the election to active membership of 29 persons, so that a net gain of 7 members resulted for the year.

Of the Society's *Publications* No. 26 appeared on November 1, 1918, and was widely and favorably noticed. Refer-

ence was made to the reviews of it which were published in *The American Historical Review* and in the book section of *The New York Times*. The succeeding volume, No. 27, the second to be devoted to the Lyons Collection, was then stated to be in page-proof state. Dr. Cyrus Adler, president, re-appointed the former members of the committees on publication, on finance, on the volume dealing with the Napoleonic Sanhedrin, and to prepare a plan for systematic work in Jewish history by the Society. Joint letters of congratulation by the president and the corresponding secretary were despatched to the Illinois State Historical Society (meeting in conjunction with the Illinois Centennial Commission in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Illinois to the Union on April 17 and 18, 1918), and to The Minnesota Historical Society on May 11, 1918, when the sixtieth anniversary of the admission of Minnesota to the Union was observed and the Minnesota Historical Building was formally dedicated. On the latter occasion, too, the Society was represented by Emanuel Cohen, of Minneapolis, one of its active members. June 22, 1918, marked the seventy-fifth anniversary of the birth of Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, of Philadelphia, a member of the executive council of the Society since its foundation. In honor of the occasion a signed, illuminated address was presented to Judge Sulzberger in which the Society participated with The Jewish Publication Society of America, The American Jewish Committee, The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, The Gratz College, and The Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

The curator, Leon Huhner, submitted his report, which is printed at another place in this volume.¹ The treasurer, Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, reported for the fiscal year, October 1, 1917, to October 1, 1918. This report was referred to

¹ See p. xxxvii *et seq.*

Joseph L. Bittenwieser and Dr. Lee K. Frankel, of New York,
as an auditing committee, and read, as follows:

REPORT OF TREASURER.

GENERAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Members' dues and back dues.....	\$1,554.18
Balance due to treasurer October 1, 1918.....	556.88
	\$2,111.06

EXPENSES.

Balance due to treasurer, October 1, 1917.....	\$ 469.78
Disbursements and clerical services, Lyons Collection Committee	784.38
Disbursements, corresponding secretary's office.....	512.90
Disbursements, curator's office, and chairman Lyons Collection Committee	244.53
Fire Insurance premiums.....	28.44
Disbursements, treasurer's office.....	28.00
Disbursements, president's office.....	27.52
Jewish Publication Society, share of expense resolutions for Judge Mayer Sulzberger.....	10.00
Rental Safe Deposit Box.....	5.00
Exchanges, National City Bank.....	.51
	\$2,111.06

PUBLICATION FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1917.....	\$ 475.27
Sales of Publications.....	121.10
	\$ 596.37

EXPENSES.

Balance in National City Bank of New York, October 1, 1918	\$ 596.37
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STATEMENT OF THE ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY.

GENERAL FUND.

Deposit in National Savings Bank of Albany, N. Y., (in- terest added to July 1, 1918).....	\$2,857.35
Less balance due to treasurer, October 1, 1918.....	556.88
	\$2,300.47

PUBLICATION FUND.

Principal deposited in New York Life Insurance and Trust Co., including interest to July 1, 1918.....	\$1,051.72
Balance in National City Bank of New York.....	39.49
Balance due to Publication Fund by General Fund as above	556.88
	\$1,648.09

As a committee on nominations Levi Hershfield, of New York, Rev. Dr. Abram S. Isaacs, of Paterson, N. J., and A. S. Freidus, of New York, were appointed by the chair. Their report was presented at the concluding session and, in accordance therewith, the following officers and additional members of the executive council were elected, viz.:

President, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Philadelphia, Pa.; vice-presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Albany, N. Y.; Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, New York; Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Cincinnati, O.; Hon. Julian W. Mack, Chicago, Ill.; corresponding secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg, New York; recording secretary, Samuel Oppenheim, New York; treasurer, Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, New York; curator, Leon Huhner, New York. Additional members of the executive council (for a term of three years, expiring with the thirtieth annual meeting of the Society): Rabbi Henry Cohen, Galveston, Texas; L. Napoleon Levy, New York; Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, Philadelphia, Pa.; Hon. Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.

It was announced that the executive council had elected the distinguished Spanish scholar, Don Adolfo Bonilla y San Martin, to corresponding membership in the Society. The request of the Jewish Welfare Board that the Society coöperate with it in the preservation of war records, was approved. The following amendment to Article III of the Constitution of the Society was unanimously adopted, viz.:

Any person approved by the executive council may become a patron of the Society by paying the sum of fifty dollars a year in fees; and transfers, on request, may be made from regular membership to the class of patrons. Patrons shall have all the rights and privileges of members.

The following necrologies of deceased members of the Society were presented at the final session on Wednesday afternoon: Fidel Fita y Colomer; Eva Coons; Moses J. Gries, by Rev. Dr. David Philipson; Moritz Guedemann, by Prof. Alexander Marx; William B. Hackenburg, by Hon. Mayer Sulzberger; Stanley V. Mastbaum, by Rev. Leon H. Elmaleh; Frederick Nathan, by Edgar J. Nathan; Isaac E. Schorsch, and Johanna Haas Westheimer, by Albert M. Friedenberg.

The following papers were read:

"The Value of Old Commercial Letters as a Source of American Jewish History," by Albert M. Friedenberg.

"The Board of Delegates of American Israelites, 1859-1878," by Max J. Kohler.

(1) "The Louzada Family of Bound Brook, N. J., 1698-1800"; (2) "Michael Gratz's Interest in Lands in Otsego County, New York, in 1794, and What Came of It. An Unpublished History"; (3) "Jews Who Helped to Finance the New or Park Theatre, New York, in 1794 and 1795"; by Samuel Oppenheim.

"A Preliminary Report on 'Napoleon and the Jews,'" by Rev. Dr. Abraham A. Neuman.

"The War Record of American Jews," by Julian Leavitt.

"The Jews in the 'Fueros Leonenses de Salamanca, Zamora, Ledesma y Alba de Tormes,'" by Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil.

"The Jewish Historical Society of Illinois," by Rev. Dr. Joseph Stolz.

(1) "A Cabalistic MS. from the Library of Judah Monis"; (2) "A Note on Monis' MS. Hebrew Grammar in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society"; by Prof. George Foot Moore.

"The Relation of Adolphus S. Solomons to the Red Cross," by Dr. Cyrus Adler.

"The Upward Struggle of the Cause of Secular Education in Russian Jewry in the Reigns of Alexander I and Nicholas I," by Bernard A. Palitz.

(1) "The Rossin Brothers of Toronto, Canada"; (2) "Unpublished Documents dealing with 'the Petition of Certain Israelites of the City of Montreal for the Benefit of Public Register to Record Births, Deaths, Marriages, etc.'"; (3) "An Unpublished Document in the Case of Thomas Coffin against Ezekiel Hart, of Three Rivers, Province of Quebec"; by Rev. Dr. Julius J. Price.

"The Taxation of Jews in Jamaica," by Frank Cundall, F. S. A.

The following papers were presented by title:

"Isaac Nordheimer, Orientalist," by Rev. Dr. Abram S. Isaacs.

"Sir Moses Ezekiel: A Memoir, " by Rev. Dr. David Philipson.

TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The twenty-eighth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held at Temple Emanu-El, Fifth Avenue and 43d Street, in the city of New York. It began in the afternoon of Sunday, February 22, 1920, continued in the evening of that day, and concluded in the morning of Monday, February 23, 1920.

The president, Dr. Cyrus Adler, was in the chair and the corresponding secretary of the Society, Albert M. Friedenberg, acted as secretary of the meeting. Regrets at their inability to attend this session were received from Hons. Simon W. Rosendale and N. Taylor Phillips, Jacob H. Schiff, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Lee Kohns, Rev. Dr. Samuel Schulman, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Prof. Gotthard Deutsch, and Louis J. Rosenberg. The president opened the proceedings by delivering his annual address.

The officers presented their annual reports. Mr. Friedenberg, the corresponding secretary, stated that the Society had a total membership of 385 persons,—38 corresponding, and 347 active members, 5 of the last-named being patrons,—on February 20, 1920. Since the previous report the Society lost 15 members by death, 5 members resigned, and 4 members were dropped from the roll. On the other hand, the Society gained by election 20 new active members. Dr. Cyrus Adler, president, reappointed the former members of the committees on publication, on finance, on the volume dealing with the Napoleonic Sanhedrin, and to prepare a plan for systematic work in Jewish history by the Society. During a portion of this period the president was absent from this country at the Peace Conference in Paris; in his absence his duties were

fulfilled by Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, one of the vice-presidents. As the delegate of the Society to the twenty-third annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, held at Philadelphia, Pa., May 2 and 3, 1919, the acting president appointed the corresponding secretary.

On January 22, 1920, The Jewish Historical Society of England commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its founding and the restoration of peace to a warring world by means of a banquet in London. The distinguished company gathered there was presided over by the Earl of Reading, Lord Chief Justice of England, whom we recall as the former British Ambassador to the United States, and addresses were delivered by Hon. John W. Davis, American Ambassador to the Court of St. James, the Lord Chancellor of England, Viscount Burnham, and prominent members of the Anglo-Jewish community. The following documents evidence our participation in this celebration :

(CABLEGRAM.)

January 16, 1920.

Henriques,

4 Harcourt Buildings,
Temple, E. C.,
London.

The American Jewish Historical Society extends to the Jewish Historical Society of England hearty congratulations upon the celebration of its semi-jubilee and expresses the hope that the peace which is also being celebrated may be a lasting one for the welfare of mankind and be fruitful in encouraging scholarly pursuits. Letter follows.

CYRUS ADLER,
President.

(LETTER.)

January 29, 1920.

Henry S. Q. Henriques, Esq., M. A., B. C. L.,
President of the Jewish Historical Society of England,
4 Harcourt Buildings, Temple, E. C.,
London, England.

SIR:

On behalf of the American Jewish Historical Society we tender hearty congratulations to The Jewish Historical Society of Eng-

land on the occasion of the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of its establishment.

Your Society has rendered distinguished service in recording that great chapter of Jewish history which has been enacted in Great Britain and you have thereby not only brought to your own students a knowledge of the development of your own community and the important part that this development has played in England, but have greatly contributed toward rendering it possible for the students of Jewish history everywhere to have a more comprehensive view of the Story of the Jews.

To the American Jewish Historical Society, your publications and suggestions therefrom, as well as the coöperation of some of your most distinguished members, with whose affiliation we have been honored, have been a great source of aid to us.

With peace restored to a warring world, your celebration takes on added value and dignity, and your Society by this commemoration not only marks an important milestone in its scholarly career but also suitably observes the dawn of what we all hope will be a new era on earth.

Faithfully yours,

CYRUS ADLER,

President.

ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG,

Corresponding Secretary.

(LETTER.)

February 11, 1920.

GENTLEMEN:

On behalf of the Jewish Historical Society of England we send you our heartfelt thanks for your telegram of January 19, and letter of January 29. The telegram was read at our Dinner on January 22, and was most welcome to all our members. We had also the advantage of having amongst us Mr. Davis, your Ambassador, who eloquently described the kindly feeling existing between the Jewish community of America and their fellow-citizens and also the friendship between our several countries. But, however close the bond between the Englishman and the American is, the tie which binds the Jews of England to our coreligionists in the United States is still more intimate because besides the community of race and faith there is also the strong bond of sympathy with our brethren in less happy lands and the desire and effort to do all we can to alleviate their lot.

In the past we have received much aid and assistance from your Society in our work and hope that the societies may in the future continue to work together as sister societies.¹

We have the honour to be,

Yours faithfully,

H. S. Q. HENRIQUES,
President.

M. EPSTEIN,
Hon. Secretary.

The curator, Leon Huhner, submitted his report, which is printed at another place in this volume.¹ The treasurer, Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, reported for the fiscal year, October 1, 1918, to October 1, 1919. This report was referred to Joseph L. Bittenwieser and Dr. Lee K. Frankel, of New York, as an auditing committee, and read, as follows:

REPORT OF TREASURER.

GENERAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Members' dues and back dues.....	\$3,192.47
Balance due to treasurer October 1, 1919.....	622.04
	\$3,814.51

EXPENSES.

Balance due to treasurer, October 1, 1918.....	\$ 556.88
The Lord Baltimore Press, <i>Publication</i> No. 26.....	1,527.47
Disbursements and clerical services, Lyons Collection Committee	784.32
Disbursements, corresponding secretary's office.....	606.85
Photoengraving and electrotyping illustrations, <i>Publication</i> No. 27.....	144.92
Expenses, 27th annual meeting.....	99.50
Research work, typewriting Sanhedrin MS.....	45.00
Printing and postage.....	21.61
Fire Insurance premiums.....	12.10
Disbursements, treasurer's office.....	8.76
Rental Safe Deposit Box.....	5.00
Exchanges, National City Bank.....	2.10
	\$3,814.51

¹ See p. xxxix *et seq.*

PUBLICATION FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1918.....	\$ 596.37
Sales of Publications.....	89.67
	\$ 686.04

EXPENSES.

Balance in National City Bank of New York, October 1, 1919	\$ 686.04
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STATEMENT OF THE ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY.

GENERAL FUND.

Deposit in National Savings Bank of Albany, N. Y., (in- terest added to July 1, 1919)	\$1,418.22
Less balance due to treasurer, October 1, 1919.....	622.04
	\$ 796.18

PUBLICATION FUND.

Principal deposited in New York Life Insurance and Trust Co., including interest to July 1, 1919.....	\$1,083.49
Balance in National City Bank of New York.....	64.00
Balance due to Publication Fund by General Fund as above	622.04
	\$1,769.53

As a committee on nominations Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, of Philadelphia, Pa., James Marshall and A. S. Freidus, of New York, were appointed by the chair. Their report was presented at the closing session and, in accordance therewith, the following officers and additional members of the executive council were elected, viz.:

President, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Philadelphia, Pa.; vice-presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Albany, N. Y.; Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, New York; Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Cincinnati, O.; Hon. Julian W. Mack, Chicago, Ill.; Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, New York; corresponding secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg, New York; recording secretary, Samuel Oppenheim, New York; treasurer, Henry S. Hendricks, New York; curator, Leon Huhner, New York. Additional mem-

bers of the executive council (for a term of three years, expiring with the thirty-first annual meeting of the Society): Charles J. Cohen, Philadelphia, Pa.; Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Kew Gardens, L. I., N. Y.; Prof. Max L. Margolis, Philadelphia, Pa.; Prof. Alexander Marx, New York.

The executive council elected Prof. George Foot Moore, of Harvard University, and J. S. da Silva Rosa, in charge of the Montezinos Library, Amsterdam, Holland, to corresponding membership in the Society. The Society voted to take appropriate steps whereby the American Jewish records of the World War may be properly preserved. The subject of securing a wider dissemination for the facts touching on the relations of Washington with the Jews of America of his time was favorably considered. An amendment to Article IV of the Constitution of the Society, so as to provide that the number of its vice-presidents shall be four "or more," was unanimously adopted.

The following necrologies of deceased members of the Society were presented at this annual meeting: A. Howard Clark, by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald; Ludwig Geiger, by Rev. Dr. Samuel Schulman; Eugene G. Kremer; Louis E. Levy, and Mrs. Abraham S. Wolf, by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach; Adolph Marix, by Mark J. Kätz; Abraham H. Nieto, by Rev. Dr. H. Pereira Mendes; Julius F. Sachse, by Albert M. Friedenberg; William Salomon, by Jacob H. Schiff; Max Schlesinger, by Hon. Simon W. Rosendale; Maurice Stern; Oscar B. Teller, by Hon. Horace Stern; Adolph Werner, by Lee Kohns.

The following papers were read:

"Sir Moses Jacob Ezekiel," by Rev. Dr. David Philipson.

"Receipt Book of Judah Hays and Moses M. Hays, commencing January 12, 1763, and ending July 18, 1766," by Dr. Harold Korn.

"Switzerland and Jewish Emancipation," by Sol. M. Stroock.

- (1) "Samuel Harris on the Dighton Rock Inscription";
- (2) "Mormon Petroglyph at Manti, Utah"; (3) "Henry

Phillips on the Yarmouth Petroglyph"; (4) "The Black Hand Rock near Newark, Ohio"; (5) "Several Unnoted Writings on the Vagary of the Ten Tribes in America"; (6) "Alleged Masonic Symbols and Ritual in Aboriginal America"; by Walter Hart Blumenthal.

"Brigadier General Charles H. Lauchheimer, U. S. M. C.: A Memoir," by Rev. Dr. William Rosenau.

"Some Notes on Jewish Incidents during the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century, with Particular Reference to Roumania, Russia and Palestine," by Max J. Kohler.

"Biographical Material concerning Nahmanides in the Spanish Archives," by Rev. Dr. Abraham A. Neuman.

(1) "Some Early Items Relative to New York Jewish History"; (2) "Trusts for Jewish Charitable Purposes under the Law of New York"; by Albert M. Friedenberg.

"The Napoleonic Sanhedrin and the Russian Government," by Dr. Solomon Zeitlin.

(1) "The Talmud as Source-Material for Jewish History"; (2) "An American Mission to Palestine in 1847"; by Prof. Gotthard Deutsch.

"Jewish Physicians in Italy. Their Relation to the Papal and Italian States," by Dr. Harry Friedenwald.

A vote of thanks to the trustees of the Temple Emanu-El for their courtesy to the Society during this meeting terminated the proceedings.

TWENTY-NINTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The twenty-ninth annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held at the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, Broad Street below York, in the city of Philadelphia. It began in the evening of Monday, February 21, 1921, continued in the morning of Tuesday, February 22, 1921, and concluded in the afternoon of the latter day.

The president, Dr. Cyrus Adler, was in the chair and the corresponding secretary of the Society, Albert M. Friedenberg, acted as secretary of the meeting. The president opened the proceedings by delivering his annual address. This reads, as follows:

Again I have the privilege of welcoming the members and friends of the American Jewish Historical Society to this twenty-ninth annual meeting. I shall not detain you long from the interesting program which has been set out before you.

Two hundred and sixty-six years have elapsed since the first arrival of a company of Jews in North America, whilst in South America their settlement was practically coeval with the first European migrations. This period though comparatively short in the long annals of Jewish history, is of sufficient duration to warrant the serious study of trained historians. It was with the hope of bringing together material for such men that our Society was formed in 1892 and from the point of view of collecting material, it has worthily fulfilled its purpose. To this, our twenty-seven stately volumes of *Publications* attest.

We have, moreover, brought together a valuable collection of publications and documents and objects of interest, which form the nucleus of what might be a very interesting exhibition, had we the space for such a purpose. It was largely through the researches of members of this Society that the articles on American Jewish history and biography, which appeared in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," were made possible and the popular articles

which appear in magazines and newspapers touching upon one or another phase of American Jewish history, are ultimately derived from our *Publications*. The Society has therefore reasonably fulfilled the anticipations of its founders and at least in the quantity of material secured has gone beyond them.

The results of these investigations are, I believe, known to all of you. They show the arrival of the pioneers in the early period in the Colonies of New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland and in all of the Southern Colonies; their steady fight for the rights which under the influence of the freer air of the Colonies were accorded earlier than in the mother-countries. We see these pioneers establish congregations in New York, Newport, Philadelphia, Savannah, Charleston, Baltimore and Richmond. We find them taking part in the earlier steps looking to American Independence. We find them in the Revolutionary Army and supporting the patriot cause with their means as well. We find them well represented among the daring spirits who opened up the West and the Southwest. We find them taking an active part in the political development of the country intensely grateful for its liberal policy and loyal to it.

As they grew in numbers they entered more and more into all the activities of a great civilization, participating in the arts, the sciences and the learned professions, became in fact a component part of American national life differentiated from their fellow-citizens only by their religious belief and practices. This is the picture painted in broad outline and we have material more than ample to justify every one of these statements. But there are yet many details to be filled and so it is my duty to point out to the membership of the Society, and to whatever wider public it may be able to reach, the desirable things that have been left undone.

First and foremost, we have not enabled a single historical student or scholar to devote himself exclusively to American Jewish history and if our branch of Jewish historical science is to be seriously prosecuted in the future, we must remedy this defect. In some college there should be established a chair for American Jewish history, and the incumbent thereof should be a trained historian, particularly in American history, but with a good knowledge of Jewish history, a command of the languages which would enable him to use the sources at first hand and with that curiosity or wonder, if you choose, which is the beginning of knowledge and the indispensable prerequisite for research. If there could be added to this, here and there, a research fellowship

in American Jewish history, I predict that in five years our branch of Jewish history would be raised from the elegant position of dilettantism to that of serious investigation.

In laying this emphasis upon American Jewish history, I am not unmindful of the fact that this Society welcomes general Jewish history, particularly as it relates to the countries from which the American Jewish stock came, but I think it is agreed that our major concern must always be that which is nearest home—the history of the Jews in America.

In preparation for this methodical work to which I allude, one of our members has been good enough to undertake a survey of the material issued in our *Publications* in order to indicate the *lacunae*, so that one or another might be impelled to take up the definite task of filling these out; for the real reason that we have no history of the Jews of America which can be called fairly definitive, is due to these breaks in the material, as well as to the fact indicated above, that no one has devoted himself exclusively to this subject.

We have, in my opinion, been even more derelict in not more actively promoting the diffusion of the knowledge which has already been brought together. The Jewish people in America themselves have but scant information about their own history and the general world at large, almost none at all. On purely educational grounds, this omission should be remedied. Every Jewish school in America should have some instruction in this subject. Merely as a matter of information for the general public, it is important that a more correct view of the Jewish population should be made known.

To advert to the first point, for the moment, I would say that any one who has read and studied the public statements of Jewish writers and thinkers in America, is made painfully aware of the fact that the great mass of them have no notion at all that Jews in America have a distinct historical tradition of their own linked up, of course, with the whole Jewish tradition, but nevertheless of sufficient dignity and importance to make a true understanding of it worth while. This condition has been aggravated, almost consciously aggravated, in recent years by a definite propaganda whose purpose was obvious enough and whose method consisted in ignoring or misinterpreting or misstating the history of the Jews in this country. Such falsification of history has not been confined to yellow journalism, although it may have had its roots

there, but it has crept into academic circles and has been given the sanction of students and professors, which titles, it may be said in passing, are by no means synonymous with scholars or historians. It will probably take a good many years to clear away the propaganda of this war period. Just as many of the leading figures in the great world tragedy have been misinterpreted and misrepresented, so probably it is not to be wondered at, that the same fate has overtaken one or another in our own smaller circle. But the historian will survive and the future like the past is secure. It is, however, the duty of the present to aid in bringing about the security of the future.

There is another desideratum easier to fulfill than the writing of a formal history of the Jews in America and that is, the preparation of a reader's guide to American Jewish history. This matter is under serious consideration by one of our members and I sincerely hope that his plans will be brought to early fruition.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, one word more. In 1916 and again in 1918, at your annual meetings, I asked leave to retire from the presidency with which you have honored me for so many years. On both occasions you changed my mind for me, but this year I have come to an unalterable resolution, not upon any personal ground whatsoever, but solely in the interest of this Society. I have served as secretary and president of this Society since its foundation. During this interval of years, many new obligations have come upon me which apparently could not be shaken off. I am not specifically a student of American history at all and from many points of view, am without the qualifications which I picture for the ideal leadership of this organization. I tried to hold it to exactness, and to prevent what will always happen to a narrow specialist, the exaltation of his own particular theme, so as to magnify it out of proportion—in general, losing the sense of what we call perspective. I have tried to be impartial in the administration of the work of the Society. I am not parting with the office in any regretful or apologetic frame of mind, nor even because I am weary of it, but solely for the reasons I have stated. This Society ought enter upon a career of more intensive and more extensive work. It should have the guidance of a man who is not devoted to too many other things, probably a man who is not president of anything else or at least has not the malady of *presidentitis* with which my good friends in various parts of the

country have both charged me and afflicted me. You will pardon this statement. I thought it necessary to make it and it is final.

The officers presented their annual reports. Mr. Friedenberg's reads, as follows:

As corresponding secretary I make the following report of the work of my office to the twenty-ninth annual meeting. It covers the period beginning February 21, 1920, and concluding with this date.

On March 5, 1920, Dr. Cyrus Adler, president, appointed as a committee on the part of this Society to coöperate with the Inter-collegiate Menorah Association: Max J. Kohler, chairman; Prof. Max L. Margolis, and Lee M. Friedman. This committee has rendered its report to this meeting, and, therefore, no further duty rests on me in this respect.

As the committee on finance of the Society the president appointed Hon. Oscar S. Straus, chairman; Henry S. Hendricks, treasurer, *ex-officio*, and Dr. Harold Korn. The treasurer has made a detailed report to this meeting on the subject of the finances of the Society.

The president reappointed as the committee on publication of this Society, Albert M. Friedenberg, chairman; Prof. Alexander Marx, and Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach. No. 27 of the *Publications* of the Society, the second and concluding volume of the Lyons Collection, was issued and distributed on July 1, 1920. The work has received considerable favorable comment, *The American Historical Review* especially treating it in a gratifying notice. Lengthy reviews of the book were published in *The Jewish Guardian* and *The Jewish Chronicle*, of London. Although we issue review copies of our *Publications* to various members of the American Jewish press, I must record with regret the fact that from these media of publicity our work is not favored with the notice to which our standing and labors as a Society seem entitled. In the case of No. 27 of our *Publications*, a large and elaborate volume representing the devoted labor of the committee charged with its issuance over several years, not a single American Jewish publication in the English language deemed the book of sufficient importance to accord it a review. It is, indeed, to be hoped that this silence of our own press does not indicate a lack of interest in American Jewish history on the part of those who are pleased to call themselves our molders of public opinion.

In page-proof form, awaiting a favorable opportunity for issuance, remain the Rosenbach bibliography, to which attention has been called at earlier annual meetings of the Society, and No. 28 of the *Publications*, comprising a volume of the usual character of miscellaneous papers and notes. Work on the latter was started August 1, 1920.

On August 27, 1920, the Kings County Historical Society, of Brooklyn, dedicated a monument and altar to Liberty in Greenwood Cemetery, to commemorate the battle of Long Island. As delegates on the part of this Society to attend this function the president appointed Albert M. Friedenberg, Leon Huhner, L. Napoleon Levy, and Hon. N. Taylor Phillips.

The Judaeans, a New York society, discussed the subject of the tercentenary of the landing of the Pilgrims in conjunction with this Society, December 12, 1920. The speakers on this occasion were Dr. William H. P. Faunce, president of Brown University, and Hon. Oscar S. Straus, past president of this Society. The latter addressed himself to the theme, "The Pilgrims and the Hebrew Spirit."

In the matter of members it is specially pleasing to note that we now have the largest number of supporters the Society has ever claimed. This result is almost wholly due to the campaign for new members waged by Dr. Adler and his associates of the committee on local arrangements for this meeting. Whereas on February 20, 1920, our roll carried thirty-eight corresponding and three hundred and forty-seven regular members, five of the latter being patrons, a total of three hundred and eighty-five persons, to-day we possess a total membership of four hundred and twenty-six. The changes in the membership during the year were, as follows: Three corresponding and nine regular members died; one patron and three regular members resigned. Two new corresponding and fifty-five new regular members, one of the latter joining for life, were elected.

The curator, Leon Huhner, submitted his report, which is printed in another place in this volume.¹ The treasurer, Henry S. Hendricks, reported for the fiscal year, October 1, 1919, to October 1, 1920. This report was referred to Joseph

¹ See p. xl *et seq.*

L. Bittenwieser and Dr. Lee K. Frankel, of New York, as an auditing committee, and reads, as follows:

REPORT OF TREASURER.

GENERAL FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Members' dues and back dues.....	\$1,896.25
Balance due to treasurer October 1, 1920.....	469.91
	\$2,366.16

EXPENSES.

Balance due to treasurer October 1, 1919.....	\$622.04
Disbursements, corresponding secretary's office.....	602.50
Rental safe deposit box.....	5.00
Fire insurance premiums.....	11.00
Expenses, 27th and 28th annual meetings	42.25
Disbursements, treasurer's office.....	45.80
Exchanges, National City Bank.....	2.10
Disbursements and clerical services, Lyons Collection Committee	931.83
Translation of Napoleonic documents.....	86.00
Miscellaneous (tolls)	17.64
	\$2,366.16

PUBLICATION FUND.

RECEIPTS.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1919.....	\$686.04
Sales of publications.....	10.72
	\$696.76

EXPENSES.

Balance with treasurer, October 1, 1920.....	\$696.76
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STATEMENT OF THE ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY.

GENERAL FUND.

Deposit in National Savings Bank of Albany, N. Y., (interest added to July 1, 1920).....	\$1,482.75
Less balance due to treasurer, October 1, 1920.....	469.91
	\$1,012.84

PUBLICATION FUND.

Principal deposited in New York Life Insurance and Trust

Co., including interest to July 1, 1920.....	\$1,116.21
Balance in National City Bank of New York.....	226.85
Balance due to Publication Fund by General Fund as above	469.91
	\$1,812.97

As a committee on nominations Albert M. Friedenberg, of New York, Rev. Leon H. Elmaleh and Hart Blumenthal, of Philadelphia, were appointed by the chair. Their report was presented at the closing session and, in accordance therewith, the following officers and additional members of the executive council were elected, viz.:

President, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, Philadelphia, Pa.; vice-presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Albany, N. Y.; Prof. Richard J. H. Gottheil, New York; Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Cincinnati, O.; Hon. Julian W. Mack, Chicago, Ill.; Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, New York; corresponding secretary, Albert M. Friedenberg, New York; recording secretary, Samuel Oppenheim, New York; treasurer, Henry S. Hendricks, New York; curator, Leon Huhner, New York. Additional members of the executive council (for a term of three years, expiring with the thirty-second annual meeting of the Society): Lee M. Friedman, Boston, Mass.; Prof. J. H. Hollander, Baltimore, Md.; Max. J. Kohler, New York; Harold Korn, New York.

The following necrologies of deceased members of the Society were presented at this annual meeting: Marcus Brann, by Prof. Alexander Marx; Louis I. Aaron, by A. Leo Weil; George Louis Beer; Emanuel Cohen, by Charles J. Cohen; Clarence I. De Sola, by Hon. N. Taylor Phillips; Albert Hessberg, by Hon. Simon W. Rosendale; Simon I. Kohn, by Hon. Horace Stern; Louis S. Levi, by Rev. Dr. David Philipson; Jacob H. Schiff, by Dr. Cyrus Adler; Henry N. Wessel, by Hon. Mayer Sulzberger.

The following papers were read:

"Jewish Participation in the Discovery and Settlement of the West in the Eighteenth Century," by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach.

"Hebraic Aspects of the Legislation of Puritan New England," by Rev. Louis I. Newman.

"Colonial Portraits of Jewish Men and Women," by Miss Hannah R. London.

"Additional Data on the History of Congregation Rodeph Shalom of Philadelphia," by Rev. Dr. Henry Berkowitz.

"A Survey of the *Publications* of the American Jewish Historical Society, and a Plan Suggested for Future Research," by Dr. Harold Korn.

"Joseph S. C. F. Frye and the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews," by Lee M. Friedman.

"The Sacred Number Seven in Aboriginal America and the Old Testament Heptad," by Walter Hart Blumenthal.

"The White and the Blue—the Colors of the Jew," by Rabbi David B. Swiren.

"Some Remarks on the Shabbethai-Zebi Movement in Poland and Ukraina," by Dr. Solomon Zeitlin.

"How to Fill the Gaps in Graetz's History," by Prof. Gotthard Deutsch.

"An Unpublished Letter to Aaron Lopez," by Rabbi Morris S. Lazaron.

"Some Early American Jewish Correspondence with the Jews of the Far East," by Rev. Dr. Martin A. Meyer.

"Data on Samuel Jacobs, an Early Canadian Jewish Settler," by Rabbi Julius J. Price.

The following papers were read by title:

(1) "Moroccan Jewish Rights at the Algeiras Conference"; (2) "Jewish Immigration to the United States and the Principle of the Right of Asylum Historically Considered," by Max J. Kohler.

A notable feature of this annual meeting was the exhibition of objects particularly devoted to matters relating to the

history of the Jews in Pennsylvania. These included the following items:

Facsimile of Taylor Calendar, printed in Philadelphia 1726, containing instructions for the study of Hebrew.

Letter of Benjamin Levy of Baltimore dated Friday, December 13, 1776, offering Robert Morris shelter for himself and family if the enemy should oblige him to leave Philadelphia.

Letter of Jewish Congregations of Philadelphia, New York, Charleston and Richmond, congratulating George Washington on his election as President of the United States, dated December 13, 1790. Reply of Washington. (Property of Congregation Mikve Israel, Philadelphia.)

Letter of Robert Morris, dated Philadelphia, November 3, 1792, addressed to Aaron Levy.

Power of Attorney to Robert Gilmore on behalf of Isaac Moses, Samuel Myers and Moses Myers, signed among others by Alexander Hamilton.

Articles of Agreement dated 1794 with regard to the sale of land in Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania, with the signature of James Wilson, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Aaron Levy witness.

Land Deed of 1800 bearing signatures of Simon Gratz, Michael Gratz and Aaron Levy.

Document for the Society for the visiting of the sick and charity of Philadelphia, dated May 2, 1830.

Letter of Mordecai Manuel Noah, dated Philadelphia, April 5, 1831.

Indenture of Moses Aaron Dropsie as Watchmaker's Apprentice, July, 1837.

Letter from A. Mordecai, Captain of the Ordnance Department, dated Frankford Arsenal, April 23, 1838, to N. Biddle, President of the Bank of the United States.

First page and Title of Leaser's A Defence of the Jews and the Mosaic Law, written at Richmond, Virginia, 1839.

Certificate signed by Isaac Leaser, A. E. Israel, and I. L. Hackenburg, of the reception of Sarah Phillips, daughter of George Phillips, into the Jewish faith, July 8, 1844.

Letter dated January 7, 1846, from Thomas Carlyle to Abram Hart of Philadelphia, acknowledging 55 pounds sterling for his book "Miscellany."

Minute Book of Maimonides College—first Jewish College actually established in America.

At the conclusion of the first session a social hour and collation was enjoyed by the large company in attendance.

A vote of thanks to the governors of the Dropsie College for their courtesy to the Society during this meeting was unanimously adopted.

On motion, unanimously adopted, the thanks of the Society were tendered Dr. Adler for his many years of unremitting labor in behalf of the Society, and it was voted that the president appoint a committee of three to frame resolutions to be presented to Dr. Adler in engrossed form to express this appreciation of the Society. Subsequently, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, president, appointed Leon Huhner, Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, and Lee M. Friedman as such committee.

REPORTS OF LEON HUHNER, CURATOR.

The accessions both by gift and purchase during the past year have increased the collections of the Society to 2,078 bound volumes, and 2,998 pamphlets. Of these 56 volumes and 110 pamphlets were added since my last report; 33 periodicals and a number of prints and MSS. have likewise been received. The scrap book collection of newspaper clippings donated by your curator has been continued by him during this past year,—a year which has been so full of items of Jewish interest. These scrap books have been indexed, and will form valuable source material for writers on American Jewish history in the future.

A number of valuable autographs have come into our possession since the last meeting. The most valuable gift of this kind is the MS. address of Hon. William H. Taft, "Progressive World Struggle of the Jews for Civil Equality," delivered by him before the National Geographic Society in 1917. Shortly after this address was delivered, your curator conferred with Hon. Oscar S. Straus with a view of obtaining the MS. for our collections, and, at the latter's suggestion, wrote to Ex-President Taft, who was good enough to send the original MS. for preservation. It is a splendid *résumé* of the history of the Jewish people, including a sympathetic plea for the removal of Jewish disabilities wherever they still exist. This address, together with the accompanying correspondence with Ex-President Taft, is a most valuable addition to our collections. It led to some further correspondence, which brought an interesting letter to Max J. Kohler from our Ex-President. A copy of this has likewise been placed with the original gift.

Your curator has also obtained from Admiral Albert Gleaves the original MS. of his address, delivered at the dedication of the service flag at the Free Synagogue, New York, in which the speaker paid a glowing tribute to the Jewish boys in the service. Another MS. gift was received from Miss Eleanor Cohen, of Baltimore, through the courtesy of Dr. Harry Friedenwald. This consists of 14 letters, some written by Barnard Gratz to Solomon Etting, and to his daughter, 2 by Rebecca Gratz, and others written by Rachael Etting, Ellen Etting, as well as a Hays item. These letters were written between 1790 and 1820. In addition, the Society received by gift a letter of Lucien Moss, a portrait of Alfred A. Moss and of the Rev. James K. Gutheim. Among the books received during the year, we are indebted to Hon. Oscar S. Straus for the gift of the elaborate work of Commander W. H. Weil on the "Congress of Vienna," which recently appeared in three large volumes. Among the more interesting purchases are a broadside relating to Mordecai M. Noah, and a MS. letter of Neander, the famous theologian and church historian.

The Society is indebted to the following for additional gifts to our collections during the past year:

Through the courtesy of Dr. Cyrus Adler, *The Tri-City Jewish Chronicle*, containing an account of the Jews of Albany, Schenectady and Troy, N. Y.; *The Jewish Criterion*, Special number on the Jews of Pittsburg; *The Jewish Sentinel*, containing special articles on the Jews of Illinois.

Prof. Gotthard Deutsch, "Sketch of Heinrich Graetz."

Rev. Henry Englander, "Sketch of Isaac Leeser."

Albert M. Friedenberg, 22 pamphlets; newspaper portraits of Henry Joseph, David Davids, Aaron Hart, Colonel David S. Franks, Jesse Josephs, Ezekiel Hart, Rev. Abram de Sola, Benjamin Hart, Rev. Meldola de Sola, Mrs. Francis Michaels and Isaac Franks; a number of pamphlets issued by the Jewish Welfare Board; Prof. Morris Jastrow's "War and the Coming Peace"; David Neumark's "Philosophy of the Bible"; and Peters' "Jews in America."

Dr. Harry Friedenwald, "The Physician's Aphorisms" and extracts from Graydon's Memoirs, relating to Mrs. Etting.

Leon Huhner, 2 plays by Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer, containing autograph inscription, 23 pamphlets, and the collection of newspaper clippings already referred to.

Mrs. L. H. Hendricks, an engraving, "Rites of the Hebrews."

Isaac Markens, MS. material, documents and newspaper clippings relating mainly to Jews in connection with Abraham Lincoln.

Clarence S. Nathan, "A Hebrew Chrestomathy, 1829," and "Selections of a Father" compiled by Isaac Gomez, jr., 1820.

Samuel Oppenheim, a photographic inscription of tombstone of Abigail Franks, procured through the courtesy of Israel Solomons, of London; 5 letters and a note by Sir Moses Ezekiel; "The Early Congressional Debates and Reporters"; and "Life of Simon Sterne."

P. Lee Phillips, "Sketch of Philip Phillips."

Gifts of pamphlets and historical items were likewise received from Lee M. Friedman, Mrs. Charles I. Hoffman, Albert M. Hyamson, Max J. Kohler, the Kehillah of New York, which sent us its "Communal Register," the Jewish Welfare Board, Prof. Alexander Marx, Edward Menkin, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Rev. Charles A. Rubenstein, and Dr. Solomon Zeitlin.

We acknowledge as before the courtesy of the various learned societies which have favored us with their publications during the past year.

Dated February, 1919.

Our collections during the past year were increased by 55 bound volumes, 46 pamphlets and 41 periodicals, so that the Society at the present time possesses 2,122 volumes and 2,915 pamphlets, besides valuable paintings, pictures, MSS. and *incunabula*. Few purchases were made since the last report, the most interesting being Sokolow's elaborate history of Zionism, and Rule's "History of the Inquisition." Your curator obtained for the society from the Earl of Reading his autograph on a souvenir programme of the reception given in his honor by The Judaeans, in April, 1919, at New York.

Among the gifts received during the year are the following:

From Charles J. Cohen: his interesting pamphlet on the origin of Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia; Miss Charity Solis Cohen: photograph of Isaac Leiser; Frank Cundall: his pamphlets on

"The Migration from Surinam to Jamaica," as well as "Jamaica under the Spaniards," the latter in collaboration with Joseph L. Pieterez; Clarence I. De Sola: "History of the Congregation of Spanish and Portuguese Jews Shearith Israel of Montreal, Canada, published at the celebration of its 150th anniversary (1918)"; Dr. C. Duschinsky: "The Rabbinate of the Great Synagogue, London"; Alexander M. Dushkin: "Jewish Education in New York City"; Albert M. Friedenberg: "History of Jews in America," being the weekly instalments of Mr. Friedenberg's work in *The American Hebrew*, February, 1917, to May, 1918, also 11 pamphlets and periodicals of Jewish interest; Rev. P. A. Hilfman: 6 MSS. relating to Jews in Surinam. Leon Huhner: 10 pamphlets and a collection of clippings from newspapers and periodicals of important and interesting items relating to Jewish history which appeared during 1919. These are for insertion in the scrap book donated by the curator, which he has kept up for several years past. Jewish Welfare Board: pictures of Admiral Marix, Col. David S. Franks, Mordecai Myers, Isaac Franks, and Capt. Uriah P. Levy, reproduced from portraits in possession of our Society, also certificates and buttons awarded to its workers; Jewish Theological Seminary of America: "Commencement Addresses"; Max J. Kohler: "The World Significance of a Jewish State," by A. A. Berle, also "Memoirs of Samuel Joseph May"; Samuel Mason: "Jews of Irkutsk" (in Russian); Masonic Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania: "Freemasonry in Pennsylvania," vol. iii; Samuel Oppenheim: "The Jews and their Persecutors," by Eugene Lawrence; Hon. Oscar S. Straus: "The Congress of Vienna," compiled from original documents, an elaborate French work issued in 1917.

The various learned societies have favored us with their publications as heretofore.

Dated February, 1920.

Few accessions were made to our collections during the year 1920, and these consist of 19 bound volumes, 41 periodicals and 46 pamphlets.

Among the gifts received were the following:

William Vincent Byars, "Memoirs of General Scott," two volumes, containing his account of his interview with Lady Johnson, formerly Rebecca Franks. Rev. Dr. Henry Berkowitz, pamphlet on golden jubilee of Congregation Rodeph Shalom, Philadelphia. Prof. Gotthard Deutsch, his paper on the Jewish Reform

Movement. Albert M. Friedenberg, "Poland and the Minority Races," by Arthur L. Goodhart, and nine pamphlets of contemporary Jewish interest, several issues of *The Hebrew Standard*, and newspaper clippings on the Vera Cruz Affair, 1914. Rev. P. A. Hilfman, *Israelitische Almanack voor Ned. West Indie 1920*. Leon Huhner, collection of newspaper clippings, pictures and pamphlets of Jewish interest. Harold Korn, MS. copy made by him, of receipt book of Judah and Moses M. Hays, original being in possession of Virginia Historical Library. Rev. S. Levy, pamphlets on Jewish theology. Miss Esther Morais, MS. of translation of the Book of Jeremiah, by Rev. Dr. Sabato Morais. Jac. Zwarts, three pamphlets in Dutch on the Portuguese Jews in Holland. Henry Goldsmith and Albert M. Friedenberg, typewritten copy of proceedings of suit brought by Moses Levy against Nathaniel Smith, New York, 1711.

The various learned institutions have continued to favor us with their publications, and our collection now contain 2141 bound volumes and 2954 pamphlets.

Dated February, 1921.

MOSES JACOB EZEKIEL.

BY RABBI DAVID PHILIPSON, D. D., LL. D.

The past century has uprooted many ideas planted by foregoing generations in the collective mind of cultured man in this western world. New values have been created. Standards have changed, standpoints have shifted. Possibly nowhere have greater changes been wrought by new viewpoints than among Jews. This statement can be substantiated by illustrations drawn from many sources. No more striking an example of the revolution in the Jewish outlook which the new time has brought about can be cited than the changed attitude in the matter of the plastic arts. Before the nineteenth century Jewish painters were rare, Jewish sculptors practically unknown. The second commandment forbade the Jew to make or to worship the image or likeness of anything in the heavens above, the earth beneath or the waters under the earth. In the observance of the prohibition no distinction was made as to the purpose of the images made. In the Greek and Roman world where the Jews lived aforesometimes, gods and goddesses were sculptured and limned in human form and in the Christian lands churches were filled with the counterfeit presentment of the savior and the saints. Little wonder then that the Jew, for whom a verisimilitude of God was unthinkable, condemned all art as idolatry. Little wonder, too, that among a people with such an attitude toward the plastic arts no painter nor sculptor could arise. Only with the coming of a different view of the true significance of the prohibition to make images could there be a change in the attitude toward art. That different view did arise in the nineteenth century when it was declared by more than one Jewish

interpreter that the real purpose of the second commandment lay in the words "Thou shalt not bow down to them or worship them," that is the images. With this alone is Judaism as a religion concerned. Painting and sculpture when divorced from religious purposes and religious worship are as little objectionable from the Jewish viewpoint as are poetry and music, their sister arts. Art ceased to be linked with idolatry. Therefore artists began to arise among Jews in the nineteenth century. Painters like Josef Israels, sculptors like Mark Antokolski, and many other artists of Jewish origin, though of lesser power and lesser renown than these geniuses, were the living proof of the changes which had been wrought in the thought of Israel. There may be differences of opinion as to whether such a thing as Jewish art can be spoken of, but no Jewish child or youth who may be endowed with the divine gift of artistic talent or genius will now be held back from following his bent because of religious scruples. That time is far behind us. A new day has indeed arisen.

The career of no artist of Jewish faith is of greater interest than that of the American sculptor Moses Jacob Ezekiel, who was born in Richmond, Va., October 28, 1844, the son of Jacob and Catherine de Castro Ezekiel. His childhood and early youth fell in the exciting days that culminated in the Civil War. As a boy he gave signs of the gift wherewith he was endowed. But all interests of the inhabitants of the city which was to become the capital of the Confederacy gave way to the excitement of the hour. School boys and college youths were carried along on the wave of patriotism to the cause in which the South believed. Moses Ezekiel had entered the Virginia Military Institute, at Lexington, in 1862; he enlisted as a cadet, served in the Confederate army during the period 1864-5 and fought at the battle of Newmarket. Following this battle an incident took place which was an early sign of the fine cosmopolitanism which was to distinguish him in later years. A cadet companion named Jefferson was

mortally wounded; Ezekiel was with him in his dying hours; The Christian boy having asked that the fourteenth chapter of John be read to him, the Jewish lad performed this service without question or hesitation. In the supreme hour of death all human differences fade away.

At the close of the war Ezekiel returned to the Institute and was graduated in 1866. Naturally the question of his future career occupied him; would he be able to follow his inclinations or must he, because of lack of means, engage in a business career? What his own desire was appears in a letter dated Lexington, Va., June 22, 1866, and written to his brother Henry just prior to his graduation from the Institute:

To tell you the truth, dear Henry [he writes] although you may know it, I have a perfect enthusiasm for art, an enthusiasm that fires my whole soul and mind to such an extent that I am willing to relish poverty and every labour that would aid me in securing the object of my ambition. I am only truly happy and contented when I am at that work. I am then in a world of my own and the hours pass away only too fast for me. I have tried in every way to drown Ambition and taste for the beautiful. I have made up my mind to lead a sober quiet life either in some business or more quiet profession. But ever and anon these stirrings arise and my every resolution is melted like the mist of a summer morn.

But since happiness is what we all seek on this earth, why leave that path which Nature has made congenial for another to which you are not half so well adapted? is the question that I ask myself more often than is necessary perhaps; why neglect the gifts of Providence? Ought we not in return cultivate and use them for the advancement of cultivation, if for nothing else?

After graduation from the Institute he worked in his father's dry goods store but in his leisure hours he indulged his artistic bent; the fire could not be quenched; after a short time he decided definitely that art must be his life work. If he would indeed be a sculptor he must know the human frame; he therefore entered the Virginia Medical College for a course in anatomy. The family removing to Cincinnati, O., he

joined them there in 1868. Opportunities for study were scant in the Ohio city or anywhere in America in those days. The art centers of Europe were the meccas towards which the American devotees turned their eyes. So too Ezekiel. The year 1869 found him in Berlin, where he entered the Royal Academy of Fine Arts and secured admission to the studio of the famous sculptor, Professor Rudolf Siemering. Thrown entirely on his own resources, he supported himself as best he could, by teaching, by modeling, by writing. During the exciting epoch of the Franco-Prussian War he secured the commission to act as special war correspondent of *The New York Herald*, to which newspaper he wrote a series of letters from the Baltic Coast. He was suspected of being a French spy and confined in prison for eight days before he succeeded in establishing his innocence. He returned to Berlin after the war and continued his studies under celebrated masters, first under Hoffmann and then under Albert Wolff.

It is not my purpose to produce merely a biographical sketch of the famous American sculptor; that has been done frequently; nor yet to give an expert estimate of his artistic powers and achievements; that is beyond my ability, for criticism of art and artists is not my *metier*. I shall rather attempt to envisage the great sculptor from the Jewish and the human point of view. Of the hundreds of works which he modeled, chiselled and put into bronze, there are a number of especial Jewish interest. These are among the greatest and most enduring products of his genius. To them I shall devote particular attention. I have also been privileged through the courtesy of my good friend, the sculptor's brother, Henry Clay Ezekiel, to read a number of letters written to various members of the family by the sculptor whose devotion as son and brother was beyond praise. These private letters contain many an expression indicative of Ezekiel's deep attachment to his ancestral faith; there are

found in them also opinions on many subjects which reveal the fine spirit and beautiful character of the writer. Ezekiel published several articles of Jewish interest, notably, an extensive study of the ghetto of Rome, an article on the Jew in art, and similar productions. These also make an especial appeal from the Jewish side. With these words of explanation let me then present the subject of this sketch as man and as the leading American sculptor of the Jewish faith, who drew much of his inspiration from Jewish thought and life.

Ezekiel's ideals were very high. His life work was very sacred to him. From the very outset of his career he took a lofty position. It goes without saying that he was eager to receive commissions. He had finished a colossal bust of Washington in 1872 which had secured him entrance into the leading artistic organization in Berlin. But commissions were slow in coming. His resources ran very low. Still he would not stoop to unworthy methods to have his work accepted. In a letter to his father of the date March 26, 1873, he wrote:

What the Government or Societies do not choose to give upon the merits of a model in open competition, I am not the man to hanker after; and I would not lose a moment out of my studio to gain the good will or vote of the best congressman that exists. Neither do I hold it consistent with the dignity of an artist to be called upon to exhibit himself with his works and to advocate his claims to superiority as has just been done in Washington. I would never do it . . . I do not intend to go into the sculpture business, sink or swim.

Many years later he expressed himself similarly in a letter to his grandmother, Mrs. Hannah Waterman, whom he always addressed affectionately as "Mummy." Although he had achieved fame and his works were found in European galleries he had not obtained recognition from his own country. He seems to have felt that this was due to the fact that he had brought no "influence" to bear. He had submitted plans for a statue of Lee which was to be erected in Richmond, Va.

In the letter referred to he wrote under date of March 21, 1886:

I feel very badly indeed when I think that my own country has repudiated me and that I have nothing to hope for at home—I shall never have any work to do for my own land if I have to manœuvre and lobby for it—if the work that is made by others contents those who order it, it is their loss, not mine. I do not care to live nor to die rich, and I would never want a commission given to me, if I had to sacrifice my self respect and honour as an artist to get it. The world and time, which is a great leveler of distinctions will know one of these days how little or how much I am worth as an artist, and my status cannot be established either by —— nor by a commission of judges in Washington who would of course prefer their inferior to a superior for any work.

And in a letter to his brother Henry written seventeen years later on January 9, 1903, he gave voice to a similar thought. He had entered a number of government competitions but had not received the award in any case. His brother felt that if he were in this country he would have a better opportunity and urged him to settle in the United States. To this the sculptor demurred. In commenting on his brother's suggestion he wrote:

I am glad to see that you never tire of looking after my interests and are still of the opinion that if I were in Washington or New York that the sugar plum commissions that are showered so broadcast by our government would, some of them, fall to me. I don't know that the idea may not be a correct one, still I am equally ignorant of the fact—whether it would compensate me after all I should think that after you have seen how I have been treated in the Farragut—Lee—Harrison—MacPherson—and other competitions in which there was no doubt in any one's mind—but that the prize—and the work was mine by rights—or that a narrower competition ought to decide it—that you would begin to see that I am not altogether wrong, to keep out of the hubbub and strife of job hunters and try to content myself with making a living and doing such work as will bear the criticism of the ages.

Throughout his life he remained the high minded gentleman to whom temporary material welfare gained at the expense of conviction made no appeal. Through sheer merit he did obtain many a commission and the satisfaction remained his to the very end that he never sold his artistic birthright for a mess of pottage. He could impossibly entertain the thought of degrading his art by commercializing it.

The first significant achievement of his artistic career was the winning of the *Michel-Beer Prix de Rome*, awarded by the Berlin Royal Academy of Fine Arts. This occurred in 1873. The award carried with it a stipendium of 3000 *thalers* which gave the winner the means of studying in Rome for two years. He had entered a bas relief entitled *Israel* in the competition for the prize. This was his first treatment of a Jewish theme. The group expresses his thought of the significance of Israel's place and Israel's mission in the world. He set forth the ideas he wished to express in this relief in a number of letters to his family which are of exceeding interest for a proper understanding of the sculptor's own thought. In a letter to his father dated March 26, 1873, he wrote:

I cut the name *Israel* in the lower edge of the frame, although Ahasver would have been just as appropriate Ahasver is the traditional name of the Wandering Jew who is the type of Israel and the Wandering Jew gives the key to any understanding of my relief.

In a later letter dated May 22, 1873, he wrote a detailed description of the work in these words:

For the Michel Beer prize competition I have composed a relief which carried my ideas of *Israel* much further than the simple figure I at first sketched and proposed to make. The relief is 8 ft. by 6 ft. and in its conception rather an historical poem without a name. *Israel* is represented by a strong male figure in the center in an attitude of complaint and despair with the right arm over the head, the eyes upraised to Heaven beseechingly. The left hand is bound on the back, the right foot resting upon the demolished golden calf of idolatry. On the left a female figure bowed in grief, abandoned and with a demolished wall crown on

her head represents Jerusalem; on the right the last Jewish King reposing on his broken sceptre; and where his blood is spilled, a tree grows up in the form of a cross upon which Christ is nailed. The frame from the circular segment outward will be composed of figures representing Law and Poetry (our gifts to the world). On the right Moses with the Tables of Stone and on the left David with the harp. At the center above, the head of the Sphynx signifying the mysteries of Providence and on each side a caryatide of Egyptian figures. This all of course belongs to the frame which notwithstanding its meaning must be so worked in bas relief as not to detract attention from the *alto-relievo* which embodies the main idea.

What that main idea was he told in another letter:

You must not think me personal in this figure [*Israel*]. Ahasver's agony is the type of all human woe and only in the noblest of Israel's sons has the human breast been torn and the belief in God's unity, the turning from Christ and hope of a redeemer that has outlived all history and is the hope of redemption that throbs in every human heart [and again] it is an allegory founded upon the history of Israel.

Israel as the religious genius among the nations, the crusher of idolatry, the suffering Messiah, Jerusalem destroyed, the Jewish nationality lost with the last of the kings, but Israel immortal through the religious idea that it embodies, these are the thoughts which the young sculptor desired to express in plastic form. The theme was most unusual. The artist had struck out a new and an individual path. Here was an original thinker. A critic in discussing this work tells why the prize was awarded this relief despite its unconventional subject and treatment.

Although the idea is not approved of [says this writer] still the creative energy and grace of this work which are far above the ordinary art admired by all. The Royal Commission has therefore not hesitated to award the prize of the Michel Beer legacy to this most promising work, which is as far removed from all academic formation as it is from the formlessness of the French Italian renaissance which parades frequently in these days under the mask of originality. We await confidently that the young

artist will find leisure during his stay in Rome, whither he has to go to carry out the provisions of the prize, to disprove by other works the prevailing notion that the race of Shem has no genius for the plastic arts.

This article was published in November, 1873, in a Leipzig journal. Have we in this last paragraph, where Ezekiel is spoken of as belonging to the "race of Shem," an early echo of that anti-Semitic movement which was to play so great a rôle in German political life during that decade of the 'seventies and later? It is significant that the term "Shem" is used here and not "Jew." But apart from this, the comment suggests the interesting question of the Jew in art, a subject which has been a matter of debate for many years. Is the painter or sculptor who happens to be a Jew to be designated a Jewish artist? Are the productions of such to be called Jewish art? These and similar questions cannot but suggest themselves in connection with the life work of an artist like Ezekiel. I would however, not touch the subject here were it not for the fact that Ezekiel himself had decided views upon this subject to which he gave clear expression. It must always be remembered that he was a devoted follower of his ancestral faith; he attended divine worship constantly; he loved the traditional forms and ceremonies; therefore if he objects to being called a Jewish artist it was not because of any desire to conceal his origin as might have been the case with others. Because he as an expert speaks with authority upon this debatable theme of the Jew in art, I am quoting here his statements written in Rome in the year 1876 which express opinions continued to be held by him to the end of his life as I have reason to know from private conversations with him on the subject. Unreservedly he wrote:

I must acknowledge that the tendency of the Israelites to stamp everything they undertake with such an emphasis is not sympathetic with my taste. *Artists* belong to no country and to no sect—their individual religious opinions are matters of conscience and belong to their households and not to the public.

Und mit zerbrochener Krone, liess Todes übermannt
Der letzte Fürst von Juda das Szepter aus der Hand.
Sein Blut aus tiefer Wunde rannt in den Wüstensand
Das trinkt mit gier'gen Zügen das ausgedünnte Leidensland.

Doch aus dem Königsblute entsprang ein Wunderbaum,
Der ragt ob allen Zeiten, ob allen Erdentraum
Daran in Gotterwürde, noch gross an Leid und Hohn
Aus Marterholz geschmiedet hängt Judens Schmerzenssohn.

Zum Himmel gehen die Hände der keine Rettung schickt,
Zum Himmel schreit das Leiden, das aus den Augen blickt,
An seinem Gott, verlassen in höchster Todespein
Fleht er in allem Leiden nur zu Ihm, zu Ihm allein.

Und Ahasver daneben die ewige Leidensgestalt,
Von übermachtetem Schmerze die Riesenfaust geballt,
Das sind die grössten Qualen die je die Welt genannt,
Das ist das grösste Elend, was keine Todesruh' gekannt.

O Israel! dein Leiden, das ist der Menschheit Schmerz,
Zu ihren besten Söhnen, zerreisst der Menschheit Herz
Und dein Messiassöhnen, das alles überlebt,
Ist das Erlösungsträumen das jede Menschenbrust durchbebt.

The poet caught the artist's meaning; notably does the last stanza interpret well Israel's Messianic dream and hope.

Many years later, in 1904, in answer to a request made by Leo N. Levi, the president of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith for a contribution to the building acquired by the order in Forsyth Street, New York, the sculptor sent a replica of his *Israel*. It was feared lest the artist's imagery might not be grasped by the Jewish inhabitants of the East Side where was situated the house in which the bas relief was to be placed. Israel in the guise of the traditional Christian representation of the crucified Christ was indeed a startling novelty and a bold conception in the eyes of the orthodox Jew. I have no means of knowing what reception the work received from the general run of people in the district. At first sight it must have shocked many but there were thoughtful men who

grasped the artist's meaning; as when one of such said that the sculptor

had taken the crucifixion of Christ for the main idea of the design, in which he symbolized the sorrows and joys and also the strength and hope of his own race.

The ghetto-poet, Morris Rosenfeld, whose poems were having a great vogue at that time was seen examining the sculptured group. When asked how the work impressed him, the poet, touching his breast, is reported to have answered: "It stirs me in here." The people of Israel as the crucified people, the Christ of the peoples, but also finally triumphant over suffering and woe,—thus did the young idealist interpret the career and mission of Israel "the servant of the Lord."

When, after winning the Michel Beer prize, Ezekiel removed to Rome, he settled in the city which was to become his future home. For over forty years he toiled and achieved in his studios in the Eternal City. Here he conceived and executed the works which brought him lasting fame. In many of these works he was strikingly original. He aimed to chisel abstract ideas in stone. The first great work which he executed in Rome demonstrated this most clearly. He received in 1874 the commission from the Independent Order B'nai B'rith to execute a group of statuary to commemorate the establishment of religious liberty in the United States; this group was to be unveiled at the Exposition to be held at Philadelphia in 1876 in celebration of the centenary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. To Ezekiel this was a most congenial subject. None had benefited more from the benign policy of this government in the matter of the separation of church and state than had the Jews; as a devout Jew therefore he could appreciate to the full the blessing of religious liberty; and as a loyal American he was conscious of the full implication of the spirit of liberty as it had found expression in the free institutions of his native land, the free state, the free school, the free press, free speech and above all, the free

church; of all the achievements of the fathers of the republic in the domain of freedom none possibly was fraught with greater blessing for mankind than religious liberty which guaranteed freedom of conscience and of worship to all the inhabitants of the country. As Jew and as American then Ezekiel found most congenial this task of perpetuating in marble the great achievement set down in one of the Amendments to the Constitution of the United States in the immortal words:

Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.

Without doubt, too, the atmosphere in which he was living conduced towards shaping the ideas in the sculptor's mind. The Italian kingdom had been established a few years previously when Victor Emmanuel had entered Rome in triumph and had been crowned king of United Italy. One of the watchwords of that long struggle for the wresting of Rome from the sovereignty of the Pope had been Cavour's famous phrase *chiesa libera in stato libero*, a free church in a free state. One of the by-products of the establishment of a free Italy was the abolition of the Roman ghetto, that noisome plague spot of mediæval persecution lasting into the nineteenth century. The liberating breath of the Italian *risorgimento* movement shattered the ghetto walls and made of the descendants of the victims of centuries of persecution free men and free citizens of a fatherland. What had been achieved in the United States in the birth years of the great modern republic had been newly duplicated in the reborn Italian state, the successor of the world's greatest ancient republic, Rome the eternal, Rome the continuing. The spirit of the new world was abroad in this oldest of European capitals. In ancient Rome the Jew was a citizen, in modern Rome he had now found a new citizenship after centuries of oppression. What could there have been more appropriate than that a Jew,

child of the great republic across the seas and sojourner in the eternal city whose streets his brethren in faith had trod from pre-Christian days should put into lasting form the undying longing for freedom which, suppressed during the intervening centuries, had now achieved notable triumphs on either side the Atlantic?

The Italian achievement of freedom 'mid the Roman environment, so palpable an object lesson of the truth that despite all obstacles and difficulties the spirit of liberty was marching on, without doubt aided Ezekiel mightily in the task to which he was applying himself and which was realized when his remarkable group *Religious Liberty* was exhibited to an admiring world. He blazed a new path in the world of modern art; sculptors had followed slavishly in the way of the ancients, imitating the models of aforesaid times; the young American had a modern idea to express and he dared to employ sculpture as the vehicle to give form to that idea. The comment made by Garibaldi, the great Italian liberator, who came to the sculptor's studio to see the work before it was sent to the United States is preserved. Said the valiant fighter for the freeing of the Italian state from the domination of the church:

This is the greatest thing that could have happened for me. To know that a work of art representing the separation of Church and State could have been conceived and carried out under the shadow of the Vatican itself is solace indeed.

How startled the Roman artistic colony was by the boldness of conception and workmanship of this practically unknown artist who awoke to find himself famous the day after his work had been placed on exhibition in September, 1876, may be gathered from a lengthy critique of the monument which appeared in the columns of the *Popolo Romano*. Some excerpts from this article will give a vivid impression of the effect which the new message conveyed by the artist produced in the Roman environment.

The artistic importance of the colossal group of Religious Liberty sculptured by the young American artist, M. Ezekiel, cannot be neglected after all the praise which the work itself has called forth in the old as well as the new world. It is the only work perhaps since the advent of Michel Angelo which has challenged such universal respect and admiration not alone for the idea itself but the bold manner with which it has been treated and the successful interpretation by the artist of an abstract idea which the world has been taught is an impossibility in the plastic arts. . . . One sees at a glance that Ezekiel's group is individual—it neither resembles in form of expression, in composition or in handling of material any work of art which the world possesses and yet we feel that he thoroughly understands, venerates and appreciates Michel Angelo's greatness, and that he has gone to Nature like a confiding, trusting child with reverence for nature's mighty power and superiority. . . . The idea of grappling with such a subject as Ezekiel has so successfully mastered, challenges a world's admiration and stamps him a true genius. Had he failed in giving expression to this modern idea, the assertions that thought should not be connected with art, that beauty alone is its object, would have been verified. Ezekiel has combined the two in the highest sense. His whole career, short as it has been, has been marked by one fact—and that is the conviction that Greek art belonged to Greek culture and life, that not even Thorwaldsen could make a Venus to be compared with the Greek Venus of Melos because neither Thorwaldsen nor his admirers believed in such a personage, as did the Greeks.

But Ezekiel shows by his work that he considers our modern ideas, religious and philosophic, as worthy of being typified by absolute forms, that he believes in progress, that he considers our thoughts and the thoughts of the modern world worth interpreting and he has given us a noble proof of it. The greatest artists in Greece felt as he does; they expressed *living ideas* which have never died. Artists and sculptors since then have been content to copy these Greek forms and to weave them into fanciful shapes. Ezekiel grapples with a mighty hand our living ideas and gives them tangible forms . . .

We can safely say that no man has ever gone to work more quietly and modestly than did Ezekiel in this great work. . . . In Rome itself where the corpse of art is being diligently galvanized into seeming life by others—he, in the earnest desire to

be true to his so-called heretic ideas in art, has with one great blow silenced his opponents. Men of the old school who worship the antique in art, even men like Professor Wolff, and Edward Müller bow in acquiescence to the beauty of his forms even though they be natural and not stereotyped; and men of the modern school who believe in absolute Realism, devoid of anything else, could find nothing to cavil at; they found modern ideas in all of the forms and technicalities of art so thoroughly understood and so offhandedly used (as subordinate things should be) that unless they wished to disgrace themselves, they were compelled as it were, in the presence of this mighty work, to acknowledge Ezekiel's power and superiority on that day in Rome when it stood exposed to public criticism, the work of an almost unknown sculptor, who was not even present, neither wishing to listen to praise, nor to bias an opinion by his personal presence.

Equally enthusiastic was the reception accorded the work in this country where it was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies on Thanksgiving Day, November 30, 1876, at Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, on the grounds of the Centennial Exposition. As viewed by the company there assembled, and still to be seen as it towers aloft in serene beauty, the monument comprises a group of three figures,—in the center, the statue of a woman representing the Genius of Religious Liberty; to the right, the smaller figure of a boy, the symbol of Faith, and to the left, a colossal eagle, representing the State, distinct and removed from the other figures so as to show the separation between them. The eagle is grasping in its claws a serpent (illustrating Intolerance) and gazes afar to see whether there are other enemies to attack. The right arm of the woman is extended in a protecting way over the boy. A Phrygian cap, with a border of stars, crowns her head; a dagger at her side and a coat of mail, covering her breast, indicate her readiness to combat any attack upon her protégé. Her left hand rests upon the fasces of the Republic and upon the Constitution—symbolical of the laws of equality and emblematic of victory. The bearing of the female figure

is calm and proudly majestic. The boy holds aloft in his hand a flaming lamp, typifying the light of religion illuminating the path of victory.

The sculptor himself was present on the occasion of the unveiling. The few words which he spoke are eloquent of the modesty of real greatness. He said in addressing the Centennial Committee of the B'nai B'rith:

The honorable commission to execute a marble group representing *Religious Liberty*, entrusted to me by your most worthy order, I have faithfully and gratefully fulfilled to the best of my ability and herewith deliver the same to your sacred charge. I regret that unavoidable circumstances, beyond my personal control, have caused some delay in this eventful occasion. In thus delivering my work into your hands, I beg of you to allow my work to speak for itself and for me.

The work did indeed thus speak not only on that day memorable for the sculptor and for American Jewry, who thus expressed the appreciation of the blessing of religious liberty as realized in this country, but the monument during the two score years which have elapsed since that November day has brought home to thousands the great idea which it so powerfully sets forth. That idea received such telling expression, there can be no doubt, because of the terrible results of religious persecution which Ezekiel had in plain view in the remains of the Roman ghetto. The story of that ghetto had burnt itself into his sensitive soul. It had stirred his indignation and had made even stronger, if that were possible, his appreciation of all that religious liberty meant. Mediæval Rome and modern America—what a contrast. Does not Ezekiel's *Religious Liberty* tell the whole story? "By the ghetto's shame, by the garb's disgrace," had the Jew of the Roman ghetto been stigmatized and dehumanized. By the American constitution, had the modern Jew been freed and made a man among men. Would Ezekiel have been able to express the contrast as forcefully as he did had his life work not fallen where it did, had he not combined his American

birthright with his Roman experience? At any rate, whatever the answer to this question may be, there can be no doubt that he was strongly impressed by the repression and wrong which the ghetto of Rome represented for he made the ghetto the subject of study.

Not long after he settled in Rome he wrote a series of sketches entitled "The Ghetto and the Jews of Rome." These sketches appeared intermittently in the columns of *The Jewish Record* of Philadelphia from October 22, 1875, to September 8, 1876. Throughout this historical record of this famous or should one not say infamous enforced dwelling place of Rome's Jewry, the scene of so much degradation and suffering, the artist, turned writer, gives evidence of his comprehension of the meaning of Israel's checkered career as eternally inscribed on the tablets of history. The significance of past and present looms constantly before him. A few citations from this article may well find a place in a study of the influences which shaped the ideas of this artist thinker, whose Jewish faith and Jewish loyalty ever distinguished him.

He cannot but be impressed by the palpable evidence of the eternity of Israel. He wrote:

Whoever turns from the Titus arch and goes a short distance down towards the Tiber and wanders through the Ghetto, can see here and there, on habitable houses, the seven branched candlestick from the temple in Jerusalem, roughly carved on the walls. It is the same in form as on the Titus arch, but on these humble houses in the Ghetto it is a living symbol of the Jewish religion, and up to the present day, the lineal descendants of those Jews brought by Titus in triumph to Rome, occupy these houses, and upon entering the synagogue we see on the walls of the same the curious, sculptured representations of the ark of the covenant, the golden table of the temple and the jubilee trumpets. An existing, inextinguishable people still offer up their prayers to the Eternal Jehovah of Jerusalem under the shadow of these relics brought by Titus to Rome, and they feel and know that the Jehovah of Israel was there and is now a greater God and mightier than the Jove of the Capitol.

And how excellently he characterizes the power and reason of the Jew's endurance when after referring to the "maltreatment of Christian prejudice and fanaticism," he wrote:

The Jews lived here hoping against hope, Israel's most prominent characteristic. Unable in an open struggle to win anything from their enemies, they barricaded themselves behind their only defense, the most terrible and sorrowful misery and poverty, their own customs and the stability of Jewish family ties. It is hard to comprehend the power and endurance exhibited by the Jews in this state of abject slavery. Men of character gain their moral excellence in misery,—philosophers their philosophy, Christians their Christianity which populates heaven with martyrs and carries their cross into paradise. Jehovah made no promises to Israel beyond the grave. The Jews have no saints. They want to live on the earth, and to do that, they must live in the damp, work in darkness and dirt, with undying energy and in pitiful, miserable occupations. From whatever source we may seek to extract this power of endurance, it remains an absolute fact, and it seems that nature herself has endowed with undying life power this most miserable congregation of all.

The juxtaposition of old and new, of past and present, of Judaism and Christianity never failed to impress this visitor from the new world, this sympathetic yet critical observer.

The surroundings of the Ghetto, or the Ghetto itself [he said in a later place] bear a characteristic physiognomy that filled me with sorrowful memories; it is impossible to judge its people from our point of view for these people belong to the past, the present and the future. . . . They are and remain the only intact living evidence we have of ancient days, breathing monuments of God's mercy who stand unmoved and bearing His name aloft amid the gorgeous ruins of pagan Rome and the cruelties of Christianity. On the "Place of Tears," called so from the church *Sancta Maria del Pianto*, we read the name on the walls, and it is indeed a well founded name, the "Place of Tears" to be found in the precincts of the Ghetto whose inhabitants may be said to have inherited as a national right, the privilege of wailing and crying in their centuries of anguish. For never in the world's history have any people cried so much and so bitterly as these Jews in Rome have done.

On the Place of Tears stands a large palace between two churches, on the one we read that it is dedicated to the weeping Maria, and on the other the horror arousing name of its builder, Francesco Cenci; it is terrible to stand on this spot and think of this name and of the beautiful unfortunate daughter Beatrice Cenci, who murdered this horrid beastly father; and thus, hand in hand with the Ghetto and its miseries, plays this most terrible of all the tragedies that humanity has endured, and in comparison with which the plays and tragedies of the Greek poets are lyric harrowless poems.

This palace between the two churches, is the palace of the Cencis and it overlooks in its half fallen grandeur the small Jewish square and the Jewish synagogue opposite, from whose portals the psalms of David and the Hebrew lamentations swell on the air, on Sabbaths and new moons. Still stranger, in connection with this place is the fact that in this same Cenci palace, the celebrated painter Overbeck lived and painted his sacred Christian pictures. The school in which he painted, the so-called classic style, has long since died out, but there is a peculiar irony in the fact itself of any man's painting his Christs and apostles and his Madonnas in every form, within the walls of this palace overlooking the Ghetto. It seems, when standing now upon the place between the palace and the synagogue, as though we might be standing on the threshold of an old and new world, a bound copy of the Old and New Testament opened so that we may read the pages of the one or the other whichever way we may chance to look, the old volume and the new volume, Judaism and Christianity.

But he is not only a student of the past with its horrors and miseries; being an American he is forward looking and therefore he penned the words:

The political reform of 1847 marks the end of that terrible Jewish slavery in Rome, which had lasted throughout so many centuries, and let us hope that the might of public opinion will show itself stronger than unfounded prejudice if it should arise again at a later day and that the limited liberties which the Hebrews have received may so increase, that they may take unlimited part in all the benefits of culture and civilization. The prospects once so far distant have at last drawn nearer.

The hope here given expression to was fully fulfilled ere many years had passed. In 1884 the last vestige of the old ghetto disappeared. The embankment of the Tiber now occupies the site of the Jewish quarter where for centuries the cowed and hunted children of Israel passed their wretched existence. The victims of century long persecution have become respected citizens of their new fatherland. Jews have occupied and are occupying positions of honor and trust in the new Italy; some have risen to the highest positions in the state, Luzzatti, minister of state and premier; Nathan, mayor of Rome; Barzilai, senator and statesman; Ottolenghi, general and war minister, as well as many others of lesser renown and achievement. None rejoiced more in this change of status of the Jews of Rome than did their American co-religionist who through his long sojourn in their midst had become really one of them. He gave expression to this feeling in a letter which he wrote on June 21, 1901, describing the ceremonies at the laying of the corner stone of the new temple which stands on the site of the ancient ghetto and in its beauty embodies the spirit of the new and better day which has broken for the Jewish community of the Eternal City:

I have just returned from the laying of the corner stone of the Jewish Temple in the Ghetto,—or rather in the center of what was once the Ghetto in Rome. . . . This was the most impressive and spontaneous demonstration it has ever been my good fortune to witness.

Here on the banks of the Tiber, where for nearly 2000 years this people have lived in darkness and sorrow in the midst of the ruins of ancient Rome—they themselves the only living ruins of antiquity—have proved themselves more enduring than the Jupiter of the Capitol. And here in front of the ruins of the portico of Octavia, within a stone's throw of the old palace of the Cenci—and very near the famous church built by a renegade Jew in the ghetto—today in the bright sunlight and for the first time with the full consciousness of equal rights and in a free country, they have dedicated their temple and laid the corner stone of it on the very spot where Vespasian and Titus, with laurel crowns

on their heads and clad in purple robes, once celebrated their victory over Jerusalem.

He cannot but compare the gloomy past with the bright present. The *Piazza del Pianto*—the Place of Tears—concerning which he had written so eloquently in his historical sketch of the Ghetto quoted above furnishes him here the illustration to drive home his point.

The new Jewish Temple [he continued] will be near the *Piazza del Pianto*,—the place of weeping. What name could be more appropriate? For was there ever any people on earth who have wept more than these same Jews and their ancestors in Rome? But today the old rag dealer, the old clothes peddler, the Director of an office in the ministry of Public Instruction, the first merchants in town, Senators, lawyers, artists and doctors, all of these, members of the Jewish community, have put on their best clothes—have left their work and their offices—and still feel that they are and have always been themselves members of the house of Israel, the Children of Abraham, and the flowers of humanity, planted by the hand of the one God in the midst of the nations of the earth. When the corner stone had sunk from view and was imbedded in the water thirty feet below the surface the rabbi offered up a prayer for the king of Italy. Then the five thousand voices of the assembled people, poor and rich, men and women, joined in a final Hebrew song of joy,—and the ceremony was over.

The temple, one of the most beautiful synagogues in all Europe, is one of the show places of modern Rome. What a change! what a contrast! When the temple of Jerusalem was destroyed by the Roman conqueror in the year seventy, the end of all things seemed to have come for the Jews of that day. The pride of Zion was humbled to the dust. Eighteen hundred years thereafter in the city of the conqueror a successor to the destroyed temple of Jerusalem arose to proclaim the indestructibility of the truth once symbolized by the magnificent pile on Moriah's hill and now expounded in hundreds of shrines in all parts of earth. Yes, the law has gone forth from Zion and the word of God from Jerusalem and they have

found abiding places in Rome and in localities undreamed of by the Roman conquerors of Jerusalem and the conquered Jews of that early day. Rome is called the Eternal City, but much more appropriately can the adjective eternal be applied to the people brought captive to Rome nineteen centuries ago and now free citizens of the modern state, successor to the imperial Rome that laid Jerusalem low. The conquered have in their turn conquered. No wonder that a sensitive soul like Ezekiel reached to the deep implication of that ceremony! he could see in his mind's eye the procession of all the past generations and could sense with his spiritual hearing the message intoned by them. The God of Israel was speaking, "I am the first and I am the last, and besides me there is no God"; and to the Jews of Rome as to the Jews of Babylon twenty-five hundred years before came the inspiring word of God's messenger "Ye are My witnesses"; through the ages, in trial and travail, in ghetto and in misery had the Jews of Rome kept the faith; the brighter and newer day had dawned; where their fathers had wept and agonized, they saw the beauteous house of God arise; dull clods indeed must they have been if on that beautiful summer day in the first year of the twentieth Christian century they did not hear, as did their co-religionist from a far away world who was sojourning in their midst, the word of God proclaimed as in days of yore, "I the Lord change not, and ye sons of Jacob, are not consumed."

In 1874 Ezekiel came to Rome and there he resided until the day of his death forty-three years later. Here he dreamed and aspired; here he wrought and achieved. True he kept in constant touch with his relatives in the United States, parents, grandparents, brothers and sisters, through the medium of correspondence and occasional visits, but in the course of time his interests centred largely in the city of his adoption which became indeed his home. There he formed those lasting friendships which extend beyond the grave; there he came into

continual contact with men and women of renown; there the charm of his personality impressed itself upon a large circle; there he became one of the prominent figures in the community and interested himself in communal affairs. His famous studio in the Baths of Diocletian was the rendezvous of many choice spirits; artists, musicians, literati foregathered there; his musical afternoons were occasions to be long remembered; at one time or another composers, singers and instrumentalists of world renown were heard there: Lizst, Joachim, Sgambati, Rudolphi, Monachesi, George Henschel and his wife and Helene Hastreiter made these occasions memorable; a visitor who was privileged to be present at one of these musicales wrote in an article entitled "An American Shrine in Rome" his impression in these words:

The program was short, select and varied. But in fact it is not proper to call it a program because in Ezekiel's studio artists produce their music as he receives, with a spontaneity only excelled by its exquisiteness.

This studio in the Baths of Diocletian was described many a time and oft by visitors from overseas and by Italian friends. It was unique, this portion of an ancient ruin made habitable and beautiful by the modern sculptor, who shortly after settling in Rome saw its possibilities and converted it into an abode of charm and beauty where he lived and worked for thirty years until compelled to vacate by the municipality which had determined upon a thorough excavation of the baths. It was never the writer's privilege to visit the sculptor and he is therefore unable to give a first hand description of the studio. Such a description however should find a place here. Of the many accounts of the studio which have passed under his eye he selects that penned by one of the artist's closest friends, Lilian Vernon de Bosis, the American wife of the Italian lawyer and poet, Adolfo de Bosis, the translator of Shelley. Ezekiel stood in closer relation with the de Bosis

family than with any other family group in Rome. When his friend writes of the studio and its interior it is almost as though she were describing a second home.

None of the ruins of ancient Rome [wrote Lillian V. de Bosis in the May, 1891, issue of the monthly magazine, *The Esquiline*] are more imposing in their decay and more suggestive to the imagination than the great *thermae*. All have felt the destructive force of time and man, but none have been more variously transformed than the Baths of Diocletian. Within its vast range, the church of San Bernardo, the beautiful *Sancta Maria degli Angeli*, an asylum for the blind, a museum, granaries, hostelry, stables have grafted themselves on the original walls. But dearest of all to the initiated is one especial hall, saved from the incongruous or unworthy fate of its fellows, and still offering a retreat to the higher elements of enjoyment, as did the libraries, music halls, gardens and lecture rooms of the ancient *thermae*. This is the studio of the American sculptor, Ezekiel.

The hall, which is supposed to have been the tepidarium of the baths, has been divided into two parts by a solid floor, and Ezekiel has the upper part. The approach is by a broad graveled walk which climbs up over the outer rim of the ruins and is all covered with a bower of honeysuckle, roses and ivy. On the landing a tiny stream trickles down through the fragments of ancient sculpture into a rocky basin, and makes a sweet accompaniment to the cooing of the doves in the pigeon-boxes hidden among the vines.

One can hardly restrain a start of surprise after the first glance at the unique interior. Here all that can charm the artistic sense is gathered and united in one harmonious whole. The frescoes and stucco-work which once covered the walls and vaults have quite disappeared, but garlands and festoons of evergreen to which time has given a mellow tint dress the bare lines. Ancient borders of royal red velvet and gold, rich old brocades, embroideries that make a woman's fingers tingle, landscapes and mirrors, compose a wainscoting that reaches up to the arches of the vault. Couches and chairs of every description, and curious bits of antique furniture make the hall homelike, as well as beautiful. In the daytime floods of light from a great window, and at night the soft light of candles in an ivy-hung chandelier make the studio always bright, and lend fine shades to the silent inhabitants.

The cordial greeting of the master of the house soon puts the veriest stranger at his ease among the unwonted surroundings, American, with all frankness and energy of the new world; Virginian, with the courtly grace of the good old school; European, from long years of residence, pupil of steady and patient toil, he immediately commands one's sympathy.

In the art of life as well as the art of sculpture he is master, and only such a one could have created this studio, filled it with these living works and gathered within its ever hospitable walls such a circle of friends as always surround him. Whoever has been favored with an invitation for Saturday evening remembers long the warm reception, the pleasant unconventional air of the studio, the easy flow of conversation prompted by the suggestive surroundings, and the always excellent, sometimes wonderful music with which the sculptor's talented friends furnish him lavishly. Here Monachesi, Sgambati, Rudolfi often play to a thoroughly appreciative audience, here Hastreiter has sung till the air is well attuned to Beethoven and Gluck. . . .

The working studio is another adjacent hall of the Baths, and is entirely given up to the more severe part of the sculptor's work. Blocks of marble, plaster casts, clay models fill the large space, and one is at a loss what to mention first and what to pass by. Only two casts of the colossal statutes in the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington remain, the *Leonardo da Vinci* and the *Titian*.

Two among the most beautiful of Ezekiel's works are here. The tomb-figure of Mrs. White, wife of President Andrew D. White of Cornell University, was finished several years ago, and is now placed, in marble, in the Memorial Chapel in Ithaca. . . .

Mrs. White's figure seemed the most beautiful of all until the *Christ in the Tomb* was finished; then it faded, as the human must before the divine. It is at the moment when life commences to reawaken in the cold body. The limbs are still rigid under the severe winding sheet; but the noble conscious head and the hand are full of life—divine life, triumphant over death, the flesh and all the dross of humanity. This is the artist's greatest work, and has been put into marble for the Chapel of Consolation in the Rue Goujon, Paris.

Was it not Schopenhauer who put the saints first and the artists second in his four categories of men? The saints are rare nowadays, also the artists but thank God equally for both, teachers and helpers.

Besides the descriptions of this famed abode in newspaper and periodical it furnished material to authors of song and story. In Mary Agnes Ticknor's novel, "The Jewel in the Lotus," the opening pages depict the studio of Salathiel, the sculptor, the original of which character in the novel was Moses Ezekiel. The studio as portrayed by the novelist is readily recognized as the room in the Baths of Diocletian. A Dutch writer Carl Vosmaer published an "artistic" novel, entitled "The Amazon," the originals of whose two leading characters were two famous artists: Askol the sculptor represents Ezekiel and Aisma the painter represents the great English artist, St. Laurens Alma Tadema; much of the action plays in the studio of Askol in the baths of Diocletian. Alma Tadema was one of Ezekiel's close friends and a visitor at the studio when in Rome; so also F. Marion Crawford, the distinguished American novelist long resident in Italy, son of one of the foremost American sculptors, Thomas Crawford, a statue of whom Ezekiel chiselled for the Corcoran Art Gallery at Washington, one of ten figures of the great artists fashioned by him to be placed in niches on the outside of that museum of art.

In his workshop in the ancient Baths Ezekiel conceived the ideas which he immortalized in marble. He was a prolific worker. It is impossible to well upon all his works within the scope of this article. I shall confine myself chiefly to the works of especial Jewish and religious interest. In a letter to his brother Henry of July 11, 1903, he wrote:

My relief *Israel*, my *Judith*, *David* and *Christ in the Tomb* show that my ideals have always been deeply connected with Jewish traditions and ideals.

Judith, the heroine of the famous incident detailed in the Apocryphal book of that name has been a favorite subject for artists. Many painters have limned the Jewish heroine but she has not furnished inspiration for sculptors in such great measure. Ezekiel's *Judith* is only a fragment. The original

cast was a complete figure bearing a sword in the raised right hand and representing Judith in the act of slaying Holofernes. During an absence of the sculptor from his studio the statue fell and was broken. The head and torso were uninjured. These the sculptor carved in marble. The face is of majestic power and carries the impress of the exalted thought which nerved her to dare and to do for her people's salvation. The Countess Hugo who published a series of pamphlets, entitled "Rome in 1886," spoke of Ezekiel and his works in the fifth of the series. She described the *Judith*:

A torso of classic beauty. The large planes of the uncovered breasts so much praised by our great *Ingres*, are magnificent. The face is treated in lines rapid and sure, full of pride and courage—The bizarre Assyrian coiffure exact, and the folds of drapery gathered on her right shoulder in light abundance, are equally marvelous.

The torso is now in Cincinnati, the possession of Mrs. Bellamy Storer who some years ago loaned it to the Cincinnati Art Museum.

In that same pamphlet Countess Hugo gave her impressions of the *David* which she had seen in the studio.

He is there nude, savage, the sword of the Philistine in his hand for he is exalting the God who made his arm victorious in an unconscious transport, the dawning of inspiration. This boy who slew the giant of brutal force with a stone, is a lesson to all thinkers. The beholder cannot but be struck by the expression on the lad's face. Sculptors in modeling David in his contest with Goliath usually depict him as the triumphant hero glorying in his victory; Ezekiel on the other hand makes the face express the religious transport, the gratitude to God for having been with him in the unequal contest and having given him the victory.

The poem of the German Pietschmann, called forth by the *Israel*, was given above. The *Judith* and the *David* together with the *Beethoven*, another of Ezekiel's famous creations, moved the lyre of a far greater, Italy's leading poet, Gabriele d'Annunzio, a dear friend and admirer of the sculptor. On

May 15, 1887, d'Annunzio wrote some verses which he entitled "To Moie Ezekiel"; Moie was the pet name used by the family and the intimates of the sculptor. The lines in the original read thus:

*Moie novello al pio Maggio romano fiorisce nella pergola un
roseto e stanno nel solenne aer quieto le nere terme di Dio-
cleziano.*

*Beethoven dalla alta erma sul lieto coro ammonisce: Tutto al
mondo é vano! Unica Dea sul triste animo umano spande l'Arte
il suo fascino segreto.*

*Leva Davide al ciel la destra invitta cantando e sul divino
ontero, come falce di luna il nudo ferro splende.*

*Guarda dall'alto indomita Giuditta ciel dalle temple l'onde delle
chiome grave, divisa in due grappoli pende.*

The sculptor himself rendered the lines into English, as follows:

Moie, now for our sacred Roman May
A rosebud blossom on the arbor path,
And Diocletian's dark and ruined bath
Is smiling on the quiet solemn day.

Beethoven from his herm, gives admonition
To the happy choir:—All is vanity!
Art, sole goddess, her secret fascination
Spreads, o'er the soul of sad humanity.

David lifts up to God his hand victorious
Singing; and on his divine shoulder swings—
And crescent-like glistens, his mighty steel.

Judith looks down placid in scorn and glorious;
And from her temples, tresses of wavy rings
Descend, a heavy clustering grapelike weal.

The unconventionality of Ezekiel's thinking was in constant evidence. He cut new channels. This unconventionality never appeared more strikingly perhaps than in his conception of the founder of Christianity. In the first place it was unusual for a Jewish sculptor to treat this theme. But

it seems to have had a fascination for Ezekiel from that early stage in his career when he fashioned *Israel* in the traditional pose of the crucifixion. Here he conceived the people Israel as the crucified one, thus making it clear that to his mind not one single Jew but *the Jew* is the suffering messiah. This bold conception which has now become a commonplace of Jewish teaching, may well have startled those who first looked upon Ezekiel's *relievo*, *Israel*, in 1873. True, Jewish commentators had from early days interpreted the famous fifty-third chapter of Isaiah which according to Christian exegesis from early days prophesies the suffering and death of Jesus, as having reference to the people Israel. But this Jewish interpretation was little known in the Christian world. Whether Ezekiel himself was acquainted with this Jewish view I have no means of knowing. If he was, he sculptured the thought of his forbears. If not, he himself penetrated the true significance of the prophet's "servant of the Lord" as meaning the people Israel.

As the years passed, Ezekiel applied himself to further study of the career of that Jew whom the Christian world worships as the suffering messiah. It is probable that his Roman environment had much to do with this. He was here in the very center of Christendom. On every hand he saw effigies of the Christ. Every picture gallery abounded with scenes from the life of Christ as portrayed in the New Testament story. Heads of Jesus, figures of Jesus were legion. But none of these presented this Jew of Nazareth as a Jew. The features were not Jewish according to the accepted tradition of the Jewish appearance. This Jewish sculptor determined to reclaim this son of the synagogue and he fashioned a head of Christ different from any in the galleries of Rome or all Europe. His Christ is daringly original. The expression of the face is that of heroic but calm endurance. There is no suggestion of the effeminacy that so frequently appears in the work of Christian painters and sculptors. The face though

gentle is strong and forceful. Original busts of his *Ecce Homo* and *The Martyr* are among the treasures of the Peabody Museum in Baltimore and the Art Museum of Cincinnati to which the former was presented by George W. Harris and Harry M. Levy. When Thomas S. Noble, the director of the Cincinnati Art Academy, viewed the bust of *The Martyr*, he said, "That is the most perfect and real head of Christ I have ever seen." An art critic writing in a Baltimore journal spoke of the bust as presenting a "strictly Jewish type." Twenty years later he fashioned a recumbent statue of Christ, a full length figure which he called *Christ Entombed*. This was purchased by a lady to be placed in the Chapel of the Consolation built over the remains of the victims of the disastrous conflagration which consumed the fashionable charity bazaar of Paris in 1900. In a letter to his father he spoke of the great sensation created in Rome by this statue.

In evolving the type of head and features for *The Dead Christ* [Katherine Markland said in her article "An American Sculptor in Rome"] "the sculptor was free to choose from the idealization of centuries, but he created his own ideal, selecting the highest characteristics of the Hebrew race; and with the pitifulness, the suffering and the horrors of death eliminated, it is one of majesty and utmost triumph. That this has been wrought into the cold marble is beyond question, for when the cast is unveiled for visitors to the studio, it is usual that an utter silence will seize the most thoughtless person present, and some will even step back as before a mighty presence; the impression produced by either the cast or the marble is one of awe.

In a letter to his father, February 17, 1895, Ezekiel spoke of a visit of Bishop Abram N. Littlejohn to his studio, who thinks it [*Christ in the Tomb*] the most impressive thing he has seen in art. It is strange to see how some women and men are awed to silence and tears on looking at my *Christ in the Tomb*. I don't believe myself that any piece of sculpture has ever made such an effect on highly educated people and I do not say this with any vanity because I never think in the least about what the effect of my work will be. I only try to make it as I feel it,

or rather I do it without thinking at the time—I do all the thinking before I begin.

Such was the impression made upon Christians by the Christ conception of a Jew. Ezekiel always looked upon his *Christ* whether in the form of bust or full statue as one of his Jewish productions. He classed it with his *Israel*, his *David* and his *Judith*. Possibly none but a Jew would have thought of changing so radically the features and expression of Christianity's founder from the cast of countenance usually portrayed by Christian artists in all the Christian centuries and lands. This Jewish *Jesus* is individual and different as the viewpoint of the Jewish artist was individual and different from that of Christian artists. His attitude was detached and objective. For this reason possibly he was better able to treat the subject from the purely artistic side than were Christian artists with whom the religious element counted. At any rate his portrayals of Jesus remain among his most striking and original achievements.

In 1888 the Jewish Publication Society of America was organized at Philadelphia. When the question of adopting a seal for the society's publications was discussed it was decided to approach the leading sculptor of the Jewish faith on the subject. Ezekiel consented to design a seal which he presented to the society. The sculptor sent a description of the seal in the following words:

Placed over the holy city is the shield of David, or double star, in the center of which the two letters indicating *Jehovah* are placed. Underneath there is a child resting on a lion and the laurel and sprig of olive leaf.

The motto inscribed on the seal is "Israel's mission is peace." In sending the seal, Ezekiel wrote a letter which is of great interest, since in it he gave expression to his view of the significance of Israel's mission in the world. The letter is dated Rome, July 13, 1889, and is addressed to the Rev. Dr.

Joseph Krauskopf, who was the secretary of the Jewish Publication Society at the time. The letter reads:

I herewith send to your address three little boxes, containing the wood cut, and two metal copies of the same for stamping purposes, of the seal for the Publication Society. I have placed over the city the double triangular star and in the center of it, and under the child, the lion and the laurel and the sprig of olive leaves, the words "Israel's mission is peace," which, I hope, will meet with the approbation of the honorable directors of the most worthy association and of yourself. I beg of you and the board to kindly accept this work as my contribution to the society, which, I hope, has for its main object the perpetuation of the interests and objects of pure Judaism.

In saying "Israel's object and mission is peace" I am far from thinking that we, as a people, have not a great moral and, eventually, a physical struggle before us before the dawn of that immense day when in reality Israel will rule the world, and God's name be acknowledged by the other nations as one. And whilst I am averse to the idea of any Israelite making his faith a political tenet and hold that his first duty is to the land he happens to inhabit, his faith as an Israelite and his trust in the ultimate destiny of his race should be maintained as a part of his religion, and not of his politics. We have had a glorious past and have in store such a future as no other people have a right to expect. Please pardon me for this digression, which is something like bringing coals to Newcastle, but my sympathies are always enlisted in any object that is connected with the enlightenment of our race, and I cannot always resist writing what I feel so earnestly.

As events proved, there was no people in all the world for whom the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus in 1492 was more fateful than for the Jews. Expelled from Spain on almost the very day that Columbus sailed, these victims of oppression in all European lands little dreamed that a new promised land was on the verge of being found for them. Most aptly the Jewish poetess Emma Lazarus calls 1492 the two-faced year for the Jews in her remarkable sonnet. Considering then what the discovery came to mean for the Jews one may well ask whether it was not most fitting that the

execution of a great bronze statue of the discoverer for the exposition which was held in a great city of the new world to mark the four hundredth anniversary of that immortal achievement was entrusted to a Jewish sculptor? This did not happen consciously or intentionally. It goes without saying that Ezekiel received this commission not because he was a Jew but because he was the leading American sculptor then living. But what marvelous things do happen in the story of the Jews! In 1492 thousands, perhaps myriads, driven forth from the land which had been their home for centuries, all hope seemingly cut off, all light extinguished, in 1892 in a far greater land which was a new home of many more thousands than had been driven forth, a scion of this eternal people fashions the enduring monument to the memory of the dauntless hero through whom Spain's greatest contribution to civilization was made. A great Jewish scholar, Meyer Kayserling, wrote a book at the time of the celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary, "The Participation of the Jews in the Discovery of America by Christopher Columbus." In this book it was proved that Jews furnished the funds that enabled Columbus to fit out his little squadron. This dispelled the legend that these funds had been furnished by Queen Isabella who sold some of her jewels for this purpose and led the late Herbert B. Adams, professor of history in the Johns Hopkins University to coin the brilliant epigram, "Not jewels but Jews," supplied Columbus with the necessary money to fit out the expedition. It is indeed pleasant to combine with this connection of Jews with the discovery, the thought that a great artist of the Jewish faith was chosen to mark by a production of his genius the event which meant more for Jews the world over than any single happening since the dispersion. That Ezekiel read any such significance into the matter does not appear, but it is striking none the less.

In a letter to his brother Henry, dated Rome, February 22, 1892, the sculptor wrote interestingly concerning the statue with which he was then occupied.

If you were to see my studio now you would not recognize it—with carpenters and blacksmiths and bridges high up in the air around my irons which now represent the bones and my cross-woods the sinews of *Christopher Columbus*. My sketch represents him in armour—as he is described by Las Casas his biographer and one who made the voyage with him and knew him well. He is standing at the helm with the rudder beam in his hand looking to the southwest—at the moment when he first saw the land.

I have an admiral's scarf over his breast tied at the left side and a chain with a gold cross hanging on his breast which his left hand touches as it is spread on his breast in a very telling manner; his legs are in tights, his armour covers his breast, his arms and his thighs and is highly ornamented. . . . [This conception] is entirely historical and new at the same time. The costume in which Columbus has almost always been represented being contrary to the only historical record we have. The only one that represents him in armour being a very poor one in Havana. . . . The figure is going to be in bronze and placed over the door of the Columbus building in Chicago which Mr. Furber is going to build within a year.

In June, 1893, the statue was placed in its niche above the entrance to the Columbus Memorial Building at the corner of State and Washington Streets, Chicago, Ill. Before the statue was shipped to this country it was on exhibition in the sculptor's studio in Rome. Writing in the Roman newspaper, *La Tribuna* of July 29, 1892, the Contessa Lara thus interpreted the figure of the discoverer as executed by the sculptor:

Possibly many a one among the spectators might have liked this *Columbus* better if the sculptor had represented him with arms stretched out in wonderment towards the isle rising as by magic before the ship of destiny. But Mr. Ezekiel has, on the contrary, reasonably felt that the great discoverer, before leaving Spain, was sure of success. The artist has therefore imparted to the noble countenance the calm serenity of one who perceives, not the realization of a mere dream, but who sees his faith rewarded by an incontestable victory. He is not a visionary, who ventured haphazard and on distant seas. He is the destined man, who has reached the haven foreseen by his soul.

Like others of Ezekiel's works his *Columbus* also was made the subject of a poetical outburst. In *The Scotsman*, of August 3, 1892, Lady Vincent published some verses entitled "To Ezekiel's Statue of Columbus," which read as follows:

To-day he sailed,
Four hundred years ago, that fearless soul,
And clove the unknown ocean to his goal,
Still steering by a faith that never failed.

His little fleet,
Unmarked by either pageantry or power,
Left Saltes in the misty morning hour
To gazer's eyes a navy all unmeet.

And as he passed,
Doubt not the watchers on the harbor said
In scornful tone, with wise incline of head—
"Of him and his wild hopes we've seen the last."

He sailed away,
Unknowing and unheeding all their words,
Guided by Him who guides the wild seabirds,
And gained his destined haven e'en as they.

Still round the globe
He found it reach—the Providence of God,
To Whom he gave the glory when he trod
The tropic portal in his kingly robe.

Sail on, brave heart,
And through the ages let us follow thee
Across the billows of a darker sea,
When from our earthly moorings we must part.

Lead on before,
With all the saints and heroes that are gone,
And in the darkness, as we wander on,
Hail us with greeting from the farther shore.

In the monument to Jesse Seligman, the commission for which was given Ezekiel by the directors of the Hebrew

Orphan Asylum, New York, of which institution Seligman had been the president, the sculptor returned to the theme which he had so strikingly illustrated in the *Religious Liberty* group twenty years before, the banishing of the spirit of intolerance by the spirit of America. The memorial which is ten feet in height was placed in the entrance hall of the asylum, April 23, 1896. A fine description of the monument appeared in the Roman newspaper, *Popolo Romano*, February 22, 1896. The writer said:

The work is a symbolic conception and the sculptor has given it a form that is absolutely modern. The lower base is in the Assyrian style, representing battles and triumphs upon which rests an Egyptian altar overthrown; on this the fragment of a beautiful Roman capital is placed.

These three zones represent the three ancient dynasties destroyed and replaced by modern civilization, represented by the fasces or bound staves of the American Union, in red marble, on the top of which a crown of laurels is raised, and the bust of Seligman is placed,—a bust most perfect in expression and exquisite in workmanship.

To the right of the observer there is a beautiful group of marvellous power and scrupulous detail of the Eagle of Civilization, who strangles the Serpent of Intolerance, which winds and writhes about the three bases of the monument.

To the left a graceful figure, life size, of an Orphan, with a most melancholy and touching air, unrolls a papyrus upon which is written "His Charity Knew No Race Nor Creed."

The monument is of modest proportions, adapted to the entrance hall of the asylum into which it is to be placed, and the whole work is of a severity and harmony of color, in the diversity of the bronzes [the orphan, the eagle, the laurels and the bust] and the red marble column and the divers colors of antique marble bases, which the illustrious sculptor Ezekiel, has happily innovated with daring ideas.

The sculptor spoke of his work on this monument in a number of letters to his father; in the letter dated Rome, January 22, 1895, he wrote:

The Seligman memorial is progressing rapidly slowly—I have made my fourth plan a success I think and I am doing it full

size. It embodies the idea of the past civilizations who opposed Israel, in ruins. The fasces of the American Union above them, upon which his bust is placed and an orphan child holding a scroll upon which is written—"His Charity Knew No Race Nor Creed."

While working out his plans for this memorial he determined that a change from his original idea as submitted to the gentlemen who had given him this commission would improve the work. His remarks on this in another letter to his father are illuminating for they disclose his high ideals.

I have my Seligman monument all built up and cast in plaster, that is to say the architectural pedestal. It is very large but just right for the bust which I have in clay and shall not cast yet until I can place it on the pedestal and see what changes I may need to make. This project will cost me a *great deal* more than the simple bronze statue would have done. But it allows me to carry out my artistic ideas more fully and I do not want to sacrifice them for simple profit and would not do it.

Writing to his father about nine months later, in October, 1895, he again spoke of his work on this memorial; this letter is particularly interesting because in it he adverts to his method of working. It appears that he was contemplating a trip to the United States. His aged father was most impatient to see him and must have written him to this effect. The letter which was evidently an answer to his father's longing to see him began by saying:

I know that you all will be surprised that I am still here. But I find so much to do on the bronzes and the marbles of my Memorial to Seligman that I see no prospect of my getting away or having it finished to my satisfaction before November if even then. The shrinking of the wax and then that of the bronze was so much more than I could calculate on that very many pieces I had to adjust or make over and then the whole work is much slower in the material than in the artistic part. I also want to put the whole together in my studio when the parts are all done and then fit them so that there will be less to do when the work arrives. Then I must tone the whole down harmoniously and you see weeks and weeks slip away with constant work all the same.

Ezekiel gave personal attention to every detail of his work. His art was his love and his life. For him indeed "art was long and time was fleeting" but he accomplished much because all else had to give way to the work he happened to have in hand. He never rested but also he never hurried. The finished work of art was years in the making, not so much in the actual workmanship as in the thought and idea. Ezekiel was not a mere craftsman skilful as he was in the technical exactness of his art, but he was a thinker and an idealist. Thoughts and ideas lay at the foundation of his work. Hence oftentimes a long space of years may have elapsed between the time that a thought first took shape in his mind and the day when in striking beauty the statue embodying that thought was unveiled to an admiring world. Such was the case with what is possibly the finest group which his fertile brain conceived and his skilful hand fashioned, namely the Jefferson monument at Louisville, Ky.

Jefferson was one of his heroes. Ezekiel was intensely loyal to his native state. He was Virginian to the core. He loved his birthplace with all the fervency of the expatriate who longs constantly for the old home. As one of the foremost sons of Virginia, Jefferson made the strongest possible appeal to this latter day Virginian. As the author of the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson stood out as the great spokesman of democracy. Hence, when he was commissioned by the Bernheim Brothers of Louisville to produce the Jefferson memorial which these public spirited citizens purposed to erect in that city, Ezekiel undertook the task *con amore*. Again as in his *Religious Liberty* group and his *Seligman Memorial* he found the opportunity so dear to him of erecting a permanent monument to the democratic ideal as realized in the American achievement of civil and religious liberty.

The statue of Jefferson is in bronze; it is nine feet high and represents the great American as holding the Declaration of Independence. Jefferson is represented as a young man,

thirty-three years old, his age at the time the Declaration was signed. Ezekiel in speaking of his conception at the time the monument was to be unveiled said :

It is a singular fact that all the famous statues of Jefferson, as well as most of the paintings portray him at an advanced age. He was only thirty-three years of age when he read the Declaration of Independence at the zenith of vigorous manhood, and my work portrays him as he would appear at this period of his life and in the act of reading the memorable document upon which the nation's freedom and greatness are founded.

The sculptor had the fine and original conception of having the statue stand upon a bronze pedestal in the form of the Liberty Bell. The pedestal rests upon a sub-base of highly polished dark American granite six feet in height. The Liberty Bell which is nine feet high is embellished on its four sides with four superb figures representing Liberty, Equality, Justice and the Brotherhood of Man. How the idea of the group was conceived by the sculptor is told in a letter which he wrote his brother Henry, September 16, 1897. His brother, it appears, had asked him about the work. In his reply he wrote :

The statue I propose to make nine feet high—in a simple natural position reading the Declaration of Independence. The plinth of the statue rests upon the intersected handles of the Liberty Bell which is as high as the statue and where the plinth of the statue touches the bell there are garlands of laurel leaves which connect the two parts very gracefully. The bell is an exact copy of the liberty bell and out of the bell are issuing the four female figures, the winged spirits or genii that embody the great Jeffersonian ideas. The one in front is our Liberty—who has broken the chains that bound her and has a drawn sword in her hand—and two angelic little baby figures on either side in very flat relief among the clouds—one bearing a flaming torch with Common Sense and the Rights of Man inscribed on it; the other with the bound staves of the union on his shoulder both of them flying towards Liberty whose feet rest upon the base of the bell and her head as high as the cap of the bell where the inscrip-

tion stands, "Proclaim liberty throughout the land." On the right-hand side the figure *Vox Populi, Vox Dei* holds jealously to her heart the tablet upon which the names of all the gods that have ever been worshipped on earth are inscribed beginning with Ptah and ending with Jehovah; all of them equal under the laws of our country. In the rear, the statue of Justice holding a balance in the left hand and a drawn sword in her right, which crosses her body and rests upon her left arm. She is clothed one half in armour and one half in the civil dress of peace. Then comes the destruction of the laws of entail and primogeniture and she is tearing up these ancient and obsolete forms and that ends the bronze work.

The bell rests upon a square block of granite six feet high which rests upon three steps of granite that forms a kind of rostrum in front from which a prize student every fourth of July for all time to come will read to the public the Declaration of Independence.

A month later Ezekiel sent his brother a photograph of the work together with a further letter in which he wrote:

Jefferson I imagine as reading the Declaration and seeing the effect it makes upon his listeners—self conscious and firm.

I shall model the figure again now—and have him still more natural, and the body and shoulders less turned so that the declaration will be more to the front than it here seems.

The spirits [evoked by Jefferson and proclaimed to the world and its people by the Liberty Bell] I hope to make very effective—here they are only dashed in for the lines and architectonic effect; and the lines of the bell will be better defined and less curved than they here seem to be.

The monument was cast in bronze at a foundry near Berlin. Andrew D. White, who was the American ambassador to Germany at the time, was so impressed by the work that of his own volition he wrote to the donors a letter which may well find a place here. In the letter he refers to the exquisite full-length, recumbent marble statue of Mrs. White, which Ezekiel had chiseled some years before and which is usually considered one of the most beautiful productions of Ezekiel's genius.

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
BERLIN, June 12, 1900.

Messrs. Bernheim Brothers,
Louisville, Ky.

GENTLEMEN: Just before the Jefferson statue and its pedestal were shipped to Louisville I had the pleasure of seeing them at the bronze foundry in the neighborhood of Berlin, and I wish to congratulate you on the wonderful success of the work.

I may be allowed to say that my experience in matters of this kind is somewhat large, it having begun forty years ago in Europe and having been continued during various visits and official sojourns on the continent, as well as in Great Britain, since that time, and I know of no memorial statue or group superior to this which you are about to unveil in Louisville and very few, indeed, which can claim anything like equality with it. It is really a masterpiece. The figure of Jefferson himself is wonderfully life-like. The pedestal is also a work of genius, the originality of the figures being very marked, but with no sacrifice of artistic qualities, while the grouping of the whole is masterly. Though unlike any other, it is beautiful and harmonious.

I was already prepared to admire the work of Mr. Ezekiel, for years ago I was taken to his studio in Rome by one of the most thoughtful judges in matters of art in the Eternal City, who told me that among all the studios there none attracted him more, and very few attracted him so much. I found there such beautiful work that I authorized Mr. Ezekiel to execute a statue for the Memorial chapel of Cornell University, which, I think is generally allowed by all who have seen it to be one of the most beautiful things of its kind in our country.

Since that I have become acquainted with other examples of his public works, and have greatly admired them.

I trust, then, that you will allow me to congratulate you on the success of the work, as well as to thank you for so patriotic and public-spirited a gift to your fellow-citizens. My hope is that others may be found to imitate your example, and erect additional statues of men like Daniel Boone and Henry Clay and John J. Crittenden in appropriate localities upon the soil of Kentucky.

I write this of my own motion, and for no other purpose than to express my congratulations and thanks to you, and with no other hope than that of possibly doing something to open the way for the future advance of sculpture in its noblest field—that is, in

the commemoration of great citizens who deserve the gratitude of individuals, commonwealths and nations for services to their fellow-men.

I remain, gentlemen,

most respectfully and sincerely yours,

ANDREW D. WHITE.

The statue was unveiled November 9, 1901; a replica was placed later at the front entrance of the University of Virginia which institution Jefferson founded and of which he was president.

The figure representing the Brotherhood of Man and the Fatherhood of God, symbolic of the idea of Religious Liberty, is the unique feature of the memorial. The other figures, Liberty, Equality, Justice would doubtless have suggested themselves to most artists but because Ezekiel was a Jew, religious liberty appeared to him the greatest of all the achievements of the founders of the republic in the first rank of whom Jefferson stood. For this reason he loved to portray this idea in bronze and in stone whenever the opportunity offered.

In a very interesting letter to his father, dated January 27, 1899, Ezekiel referred to this figure representing the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man and notably to the tablet containing the various names of the deity.

In regard to the *Ain Soph*—it is the Hebrew cabalistic name for the formless first cause—the impersonal, eternal God [distinguished from the emanation from the *Ain Soph—Sephivot*.] The God of the Bible is an individual personal God—and I wanted to put a name that signified the primitive absolute Eternal Deity. However, I have left it away.—On the left I have placed the Aum of the Hindus and on the right אהר " the *One* God of the Hebrews and then under the Religious Liberty inscription, the names of the deities of other nations, to show that between Liberty and Justice, and under our government, they mean, and are all God—and have no other meaning and have each an equal right and the protection of our just laws as Americans.

In another letter to his father of the same period he came back to this subject of the names of the deity. This letter is quoted here at length because it indicates how thoroughly Ezekiel immersed himself into the subjects of his sculptures and also because in this letter the sculptor touches a favorite theme. There was a deeply mystical element in his makeup; he was thoroughly religious not only in the sense of strong attachment to his ancestral faith but in that longing for the Infinite to which he attempted to give expression in more than one of his artistic creations. The letter in question is a dissertation on the subject and read as follows:

I would like you to ask Dr. [Isaac Mayer] Wise or any one you think proper what is the *proper translation of Elohim*? Elohim is not only a plural but a *feminine plural* and yet the translators of the Bible make it singular and masculine.

Elohim is the plural I think, of the feminine noun *El—h*, the final letter marks the gender—however, instead of forming the plural in—*oth*, it takes the termination of the masculine plural in *im*. I see that in the Kabbalah, the united word, represents two initial masculine and feminine potencies, co-equal and co-eternal.

I ask this question because in my readings, I see that there is an idea extant and published—that the creation by the *Elohim* refers to exalted powers in the universe or nature, *sephirot* or angels or whatever we choose to call them—and there are emanations from the Divine Unity—the *primeval cause*, or what we understand, the impersonal eternal infinite God as a unity. In short this book based upon deep researches says that the *Elohim* are not "God" nor even the higher planetary spirits—but are the architects of this visible physical planet of ours and of man's natural body or encasement.

I understand of course that $1 \times 1 = 1$ and $1 \div 1 = 1$, that is to say that 1 is a unity—that either multiplied by 1 or divided by 1 remains always 1 and that a God of absolute perfection himself could not be well identified with the many imperfect works found in nature—consequently, it seems that there is some ground for thinking that these imperfections are the products of finite conditioned beings—even though they be called *Dhyan*, *Chohans*, *Sephirot*, archangels or any other names given to them. The *Zohar* speaks of the auxiliaries of the "Ancient of days" and calls them *Auphanim*.

I wish to hear therefore what the learned Rabbi and those who study the Kabbalah and the numerical values of the Hebrew words in the Bible have to say in regard to the true translation of the word *Elohim*.

I believe perhaps that the *Zohar* is a collection of oral doctrines written down during the Babylonian captivity and collected and published at the beginning of the Christian era by Rabbi Simeon ben Jochai, and this book is the true echo of primitive truths that have kept Judaism alive through all these ages.

I suppose, dear Pa, you will think that I am going deep into theology. The fact is I am only anxious to be able to answer a question now and then with more authority than I myself possess but, I regret that I did not study more Hebrew and that I have not been able to find the time to improve more the little I learned as it certainly helps a man to solve many problems that concern us intellectually and spiritually in our pilgrimage on earth.

This letter was written in January, 1899; the following May Ezekiel arrived in this country just in time to see his beloved father who died on the sixteenth day of that month. Never was there a more affectionate son than Moses Ezekiel. His letters abound in expressions of deep and tender love. Knowing how bound up his father's soul was with his, he was most assiduous in his correspondence and kept the patriarch constantly informed of his plans and his doings. What a satisfaction it was to him that he arrived at Cincinnati just before his beloved breathed his last! The father knew that the cherished son was on the ocean speeding towards him. He was dying for days but it seemed that his soul could not leave the earthly tenement until his eyes rested once more upon the dear countenance of the son of whom he was so proud. With brothers and sisters the sculptor stood in reverent attitude by the grave as the last words of the service for the departed were spoken. He never ceased expressing his gratitude that he had reached his father's bedside before the spirit had winged its flight to the eternal home.

It was during this visit that Ezekiel had ample and frequent opportunity to speak with Dr. Wise not only on the subject

concerning which he had requested his father to consult the famous rabbi but on many other theme. Dr. Wise had reached the eightieth anniversary of his birth the preceding March. His congregation had determined to celebrate the event by having a bust of the eminent rabbi made by the famous sculptor. The bust was modelled from life. Every day the sculptor journeyed to Dr. Wise's country home several miles from the city and worked there at the congenial task. Isador Wise, a son of the rabbi who was frequently present on these occasions thus described them:

The daily sittings were long and long drawn out, and should have been designated, as Mr. Ezekiel remarked, daily symposiums, for on many occasions there was much discussion and little work. But there was evident progress from day to day until the work neared completion when those who had occasionally been allowed to be present were excluded during the work hour. It was at this time that Mr. Ezekiel bent his best energies to the task which had now become a labor of love. Looking at him while at work the beholder was struck breathless with the intensity of expression which transfigured the artist's face. His whole soul seemed to be in his eyes and his fingers. Such a strain could not of course endure long at a time. No human being could stand it. It made the heart of even the inexperienced observer stand still while it lasted. But the work over, the artist is again the genial man.

The bust which is of bronze now rests in the hall of the Hebrew Union College on Clifton Avenue, Cincinnati, O., and is one of the most treasured possessions of that institution to which it was presented by the B'ne Jeshurun Congregation. The bust is lifesize and is an excellent portrait of the octogenarian.

The sculptor memorialized the rabbi in another striking work of art, the memorial window placed in the temple of the Keneseth Israel Congregation, Philadelphia, Pa. The window was dedicated January 21, 1911, during the session of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations whose founder Dr. Wise was. The central figure in the window is a heroic figure of Judah Maccabee, one of whose outstretched hands

hold a sword, the other a banner inscribed with the Hebrew letter *מכבי*. The sculptor typified the militant spirit of Dr. Wise by this figure of the ancient hero. Both fought for the preservation of their faith although in widely differing times and environments. But Wise was indeed filled with the Maccabean spirit and fought as did Judah with the foes of Israel within and without. At the base of the window are two figures, on the left a woman bowed in grief, indicating Israel in affliction through the sorrowing ages, on the right a youth strong and virile with a scroll in his hands. This represents the regeneration of Israel through the study of the ancient scrolls, thus typifying Wise's great achievement in the founding of the Hebrew Union College whence went forth the teachers and preachers through whom Judaism's message was spread broadcast through the land. At the top of the window appear the words *יהי אור* "Let There Be Light," Wise's life motto; light he spread, a messenger of light was he. This is indicated by the text at the bottom of the window, the words taken from the book of Daniel,

The Wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars, forever and ever.

This completes Ezekiel's treatment of Jewish subjects. They will remain among his most enduring works. In them stand enshrined his own intense loyalty to his faith. Jewish ideals appealed to him because he was an idealist. He pierced to the very root of the truth for which Judaism stood. And not only to his faith was he loyal but to his family and his friends. If Josiah Royce was right in his statement that loyalty is the finest trait that can characterize people, and I think he was, then was Moses Ezekiel among the finest of spirits. For never was man more loyal and devoted than he to his family, friends and faith than he. In a remarkably beautiful appreciation of the life and work of the sculptor which appeared in the *Alumni Bulletin of the University of*

Virginia, May-June, 1917, from the pen of Mary Agnes Taylor, the trait is adverted to in these words:

Though possessed of a singularly wide humanity, he was intensely proud of and loyal to his family and his race. He followed the Dreyfus case with vehement earnestness. I can never forget his selecting and reading aloud to two of us, one evening, "The Merchant of Venice." It was curious how, without changing the actual words, he was able to invest the part of Shylock with a vindication and a certain dignity, which I had never seen in it before. I remember the deep sense of shame of my own people I felt, as the words "Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions?" fell from the lips of one who had such a Christian heart of compassion himself.

A Christian wrote this appreciation and the last sentence must be read with her point of view in mind.

Ezekiel's loyalty and passionate attachment to his family were most marked. He was a most faithful correspondent. The letters to his parents, his grandmother, his brothers and sisters abound in expressions of deep attachment. Most of these expressions are, of too intimate a nature for public perusal. In them he frequently laid bare his innermost thoughts and his cherished plans. Several of his most charming letters were written to the old negro mammy who had been his nurse in ante bellum days and remained with the family after she had acquired her freedom. This is only another evidence of the deepseated loyalty which was so leading a trait in his make up.

Though so far away, he entered heartily into all family joys and sympathized deeply with all family griefs. This appears clearly in the voluminous correspondence which he conducted with the members of his family in Cincinnati and elsewhere. Family letters are in their nature of an intimate character and not intended for the larger public. If I select several for inclusion here it is because they reveal the deep family affection of the sculptor and indicate the religiousness

of his outlook. The distressing news of his mother's sudden death reached him in the form of a telegram which he found in his studio on Monday morning, July 13, 1894. He at once wrote his father:

It is with a heavy heart that I attempt to write. I came to my studio this morning and found a card from the attache of the legation of the U. S. A. enclosing a telegram from Henry to the Minister giving me the terrible news of the sudden death of dear Ma. Rest her soul in peace! I am so grieved that I cannot console, my dear Pa—I only hope that you will bear up manfully and try to seek comfort in the dear ones around you. I shall go morning and evening to Minyan and sit Schiva in my studio—I have no words for my deep grief.

In his next letter to his father he came back to the subject which was with him in all his waking hours:

I have not been able to write at all this week to you and our dear ones at home [he says in his letter dated July 19, 1891] my own grief has prevented me from being able to say anything to you. I can only picture the desolation and sorrow at home and my thoughts are continually with you and I pray to God that He may give you the strength and fortitude to bear up for our sakes under this great affliction. You who always feel more for others than for yourself—and sacrifice everything for others, must try and feel that we now all need you and you must succeed in bearing up bravely and taking care of your precious health. When I think of it all and what terrible void I shall find when I come home, it appals me. We can only feel however that the unbounded charity our dear mama had in her heart and exercised in all ways, her blameless life of true love which is the attribute most divine, has entitled her to be among the Blessed, and we her children can have no higher aims on earth than to prove ourselves worthy of her, and may her soul rest in everlasting peace!

In so large a family connection occasions of domestic joy and sorrow were frequent. In all of them the absent son, brother and uncle evinced the liveliest concern. From the many letters which such occasions called forth I select one because in it the writer sets forth his thoughts on death and

immortality. The letter is dated September 25, 1915, and was addressed to his sister-in-law, Mrs. Louis Ezekiel, after the passing of her brother, Seymour Samuels, the husband of the sculptor's sister, Esther.

I can so well imagine [he writes] the grief and desolation that has been brought home to you all at our fireside—that it seems to me a useless thing to dwell on that subject, as nothing but time and resignation to the divine laws that govern our lives and the universe can in any way help us when the grim messenger of Death comes and carries away from us any one we loved and esteemed and that constituted a part and parcel of our whole life on earth.

But believing as I do that there is no real death—but that we only lose the body for a while and the spirit which can never die, goes on living and enjoying the fruits of the good accomplished on earth until a rebirth after many ages of time—sends the spirit back again on earth, to expiate faults and correct them—or to carry out the aspirations we had, but could not accomplish in a previous life on earth—these thoughts and I may say, convictions help me to bear with composure the decrees against which so many people struggle and rebel in vain. It is true that the only thing that is certain—is what we call death. But we have reason and thought and above all intuition, that can help us to bear with equanimity the many great sorrows that come to us—and so, if I have not written to you much since it has pleased the Almighty to call to himself the soul of our dear Seymour—may he rest in peace—it has not been because my thoughts and my desire to be of some comfort to you have been lacking. But there is so little that one can say on these mournful occasions,—and we have had a chapter of them in so short a time—that it seems like a whirlwind of sad tidings has been sent to me continually and our dear friends here have felt it all with me and have tried by every means that love could suggest to make me feel that divided sorrow is half a sorrow—as divided joys are double joys.

In spite of his long absence from home, the ties that bound him to his beloved seemed to grow the stronger as the years passed. His occasional visits to this country served to constantly renew these ties. It was at these times that I together

with other friends would foregather with him and his beloved. His distinguished and courtly presence made him a central figure in any company. He was a man of uncommon personal charm and attractiveness. His voice had the soft and musical quality of the cultivated Italian than which there is no voice in all the world more dulcet; his face wore an expression of benignity and serenity which bespoke the quality of his thoughts; he looked the artist; a great admirer in looking at him said that his head might serve as a model of Adonis; and this was not an exaggeration; he was in all truth a singularly handsome man, a cavalier in the finest sense of the word. There was, too, something simple and child-like about him, the simplicity of true greatness, the child-likeness of real worth. Modest to a degree, fame and adulation could not spoil him. It was a privilege to come into converse with him. He was indeed one of nature's nobleman; he combined the free outlook of a child of the new world with the centuried culture of the citizen of the old. Such was the impression he constantly made upon me in the hours we spent together during his rare sojournings in the city of Cincinnati.

Despite Ezekiel's devotion to his art, he participated in the affairs of his world both social and communal. His friends were legion, from princes of the church, like Cardinal Prince Gustav von Hohenlohe with whom he was on terms of the most intimate friendship, down to the little children who made his studio ring with their childish glee on festival occasions. He had a genius for friendship and he indeed attached his friends to him with hooks of steel. But he found time, too, for other than friendly intercourse. Distress never appealed to him in vain. When the Russian persecutions of the Jews were making thousands homeless he undertook to form a committee for the relief of Russian Jews. He interested men and women of the highest standing in the project; State Councilor R. Beseglio accepted the presidency of the committee; the Duke of Caetani, Mayor of Rome, and Senator Allievi were

the vice-presidents, Adolfo de Bosis was the treasurer and Ezekiel himself acted as secretary. He discussed the matter at some length in a letter to his father of the date July 7, 1891. The letter is of particular interest since it gives Ezekiel's views of the future of Palestine. These views as here expressed would now perhaps be modified. Imperialistic Russia is no more and the need of a buffer-state against Russian far Eastern schemes has disappeared. It is of course impossible to say what Ezekiel's views would be to-day in the light of the world shattering events of the past few years. In this letter to his father he wrote:

The chief rabbi of Florence, Dr. Margulies, came to see me this morning on the subject of forming committees in the whole of Italy—with a central committee in Rome, for the moral and material aid of the poor Jews who are being expelled from Russia. And I at once went to see the noblest man in Rome, the Duke of Caetani, Mayor of Rome, who received me with great kindness and offers his name and aid, and accepts the vice presidency of the committee, his duties as mayor of Rome being so onerous that he has not the time to be the president. . . . His Eminence Prince Hohenlohe I saw at lunch and he too wishes to aid the matter both by a grand subscription of money and in every other possible way, as a power behind the throne unnamed, as he can be of more service in that way than he could be otherwise—Senator Molleschott and several other senators, in fact, the best men in the country will be on the committee and I hope that we will be able in a short time to do some effective good.

My idea is to establish industrial and agricultural colonies in Palestine, to build schools and have the education of a military character—to build hospitals for the sick and decrepit and in fact to repopulate Syria and Palestine with these refugees from barbarism. I do not know how far this plan will lead me—but I am convinced that it is the proper thing to do for all economic reasons. There are 5 million Jews in Russia and they will all have to leave there sooner or later. For the present 2 million must be provided for. The Jews themselves object to going to Argentina where Baron Hirsch has bought lands for them—however some will no doubt go there but it is probable that they would prefer not to cross the ocean *en masse*.

Millions of dollars are spent annually now by travellers in the Orient who used formerly to come no further than Italy and there is no good reason why Palestine should not flower again like a garden and give corn, wine and oil to her inhabitants and become a grand resort for travellers and eventually a bulwark against the Russians whenever they attempt to force their way through Palestine to India. Then a strong nation aided by the allies of Europe can vent their revenge upon an arch enemy. This is looking far ahead in the future, whereas at present the question is bread and raiment and homes for the exiles and for that we must do all that is in our power, now and at once.

4 P. M. I have just told Dr. Margulies that I have seen the Mayor of Rome, Duke Caetani, etc., etc. He is delighted with this success and tells me that the Press Association of Rome will lend their hall for the reunion and send out the invitations for the meeting.

With the passing of the years Ezekiel became one of the celebrities of the Eternal City. Honors in great number came to him. He received decorations from kings and princes. These things mean little in these democratic days when kings and kaisers have been cast into the discard but in the closing decades of the nineteenth century and the opening of the twentieth these marks of distinction were highly prized. The king of Italy conferred upon him in 1907 the title of *Ufficiale della corona d'Italia*; this entitled him to prefix the title Sir to his name. Both Queen and King of Italy visited his studio. An interesting bit of repartee is recorded in connection with the king's visit in June, 1909. The sculptor had been threatened with eviction from his studio in the Diocletian Baths as the municipality intended to take over the antique structure. When the king visited the studio he referred to this matter. The sculptor said:

In the olden days, your Majesty, when a king visited the house of a commoner, from that time the house became the property of the host.

The king laughed and retorted "Times have changed for us as well as for you!" A prophetic remark indeed for kings

in general in the light of the events of the present revolutionary age.

In 1886 Ezekiel had been elected a directing councilor of the General Assembly of the Lovers and Cultivators of the Fine Arts in Rome; in 1887 he was chosen to be one of the jurors for the International Art Exhibition in Rome.

The years passed in happy succession; Ezekiel led a charming existence; his genius was universally acclaimed; commissions in great number came to him; his works found a place in celebrated galleries in Europe and America; hundreds of statues, busts and groups were modelled in the famous studio and its successor, the Tower of Belisarius in the walls of Rome near the Villa Borghese, where he set up his workshop in the closing years of his life. To these many works I cannot refer even by name. The last of his notable productions is the great Confederate monument in the Arlington National Cemetery near Washington. The United Daughters of the Confederacy presented this monument to the nation. It was unveiled June 4, 1914. President Wilson accepted the monument in behalf of the United States, the closing words of whose brief speech well brought out the sculptor's idea of making this monument a peace offering indicating a reunited people. The chief figure of the monument is a woman representing the New South; her extended left hand holds a wreath of laurel with which to crown the Confederate dead; her right rests on a plowstock on which is a pruning hook. Underneath an inscription reads "They have beat their swords into plough-shares and their spears into pruning hooks." Finely, indeed, did President Wilson elaborate upon his thought of the sculptor in the closing words referred to above:

It is our duty and our privilege to be like the country we represent, and speaking no word of malice, no word of criticism even, standing shoulder to shoulder, to lift the burdens of mankind in the future and show the paths of freedom to all the world.

This last of Ezekiel's great productions was made the subject of a sonnet by a Cincinnati poetess, Fanny Polk Hosea, entitled "The New South." It is a striking tribute by a Christian woman to the work of a Jewish sculptor, for in the closing lines she couples the name of the artist with that of the Christ, for her the symbol of the highest. The sonnet reads:

Peace! Divine message to the North,
Brought by the glorious woman, olive-crowned,
Who from her war swept South comes nobly forth
To plant the olive on her victor's ground.
She stands, majestic on her base, where live
In speaking bronze, her heroes' moving story,
A woman, not an angel, sent to give
The message: "Peace on earth, to God give glory!"
In this age forecast by prophet old—
Her sword is turned to ploughshare and her spear
A sickle; reaping blessings manifold
Promised to those who great Jehovah fear!
Ezekiel, thy New South shall ever be
A symbol high, for Christ and Chivalry.

A little more than a month after the dedication the terrible war burst upon a horrified world. Ezekiel's plan to come again to his native land was frustrated. His adopted country after varying vicissitudes cast her lot with the fighters for the world's freedom. What alternate hopes and fears must have surged in the breast of this true democrat, who in his unperishable creations had embodied the spirit of liberty. He continued his work in his studio, finishing his Poe monument and other artistic tasks but as was the case with all patriots in those soul trying days, everything was subordinated to interest in the war. He did yeoman's work in the American Red Cross service. His exertions sapped his strength. The spirit was strong but the body failed to respond. A detailed account of the last weeks was written to his eldest sister, Hannah E. Workum, of Cincinnati, by his devoted friend Mrs. Adolfo de Bosis. This loving appreciation besides giving

information of great general interest is at the same time so exquisite a tribute to the memory of a shining spirit that the greater portion is here included.

ROME, ITALY, April 4, 1917.

MY DEAR SISTER HANNAH:

Let me address to you these sad pages which endeavor to tell you as much as possible, the details of our precious Moie's last days on earth. No words can ever tell you the love, admiration and gratitude he was surrounded with, the deep sorrow of all who had approached him at his departure. As to us, I fear you never will know how dearly we loved him, how we feel him ever present in our midst; the most real presence, the most beautiful, highest, richest human nature, we have ever known of. To have lost him seems yet incredible to us, and more than we can bear. He was and is to us more than Brother, Friend, Teacher, Inspirer. He influenced our lives toward the highest, as no other human being. Our gratitude and our devotion to his Memory are undying. Dear Moie! As he probably wrote you he had been occupied all winter with the "Red Cross American Relief Clearing House" here in Rome. He was one of the most active members of the Committee and his generous heart took real joy in being able with his intimate knowledge of the Country and its institutions and conditions, to wisely direct the large sums of money sent voluntarily from America to the relief of the most worthy and needy. Mr. Grey, his associate, tells me that he thus helped distribute about \$100,000 during the winter. Also he helped send out clothing, etc., to soldiers at the front. All this was fatiguing added to his ordinary occupations. He could not work very much at his studio owing to the very cold damp winter, and the difficulty in getting coal. But he finished completely his monument to Poe, and worked on the sketches of a monument to General Smith, and on other plans of work. One of his pleasures during the winter, was to accompany Major and Mrs. Heiberg [the former the Military attache to the United States Embassy in Rome] with their children visiting places of interest in Rome. He thus spent every Friday morning. It was a great blow to him when Major Heiberg was killed at the Italian front by a kick from his horse. He doubtless wrote you about it. That was in the last days of February I believe or March 2. He was most kind to Mrs. Heiberg as he always was to everyone in grief, and took charge of many details about the funeral, meeting the

remains at the station, etc. It was on a very stormy, cold day, and we all think that he probably then, in his sorrowing over strained conditions, contracted the germs of his illness. He had been looking tired and overworked occasionally, but his active spirit spurred him on and he was rarely quiet. In the week from the 11th to the 18th of March he had a bad cough and fever at times, in the night, but kept on as usual. On that Wednesday he went to the Opera with our Charis. Saint-Saëns directed his own "Samson and Delilah" at the Constanze; it was a French evening for the benefit of soldiers, I think and much patriotic enthusiasm in which he joined, was manifested. But it was a rainy night, and evidently not good for his cold, as he called it. On the Friday we were all save Adolfo at the Tower of Music. Many ladies were there, among them Mrs. Page, and he insisted on accompanying them down stairs as they went away, though he looked bad, coughing a good deal and many begged him not to weary himself. The next day, Saturday we all went to lunch with him at the Tower, as has been our happy custom these nearly twenty-seven years. Miss Hope Harjes [granddaughter of his dear old friend, John Harjes, of Paris] was also there, and Miss Pritchard. He arrived late but very smiling, had been to his Union Club I believe at *Piazza di Spagna* and then to work in his Studio till one o'clock, on the figure of Gen. Smith, in his heavy furlined overcoat, without fire. He was just as usual that last day of health, looked tired but better than the day before. Then came Sunday when none of us saw him. Pietro tells that he arose late about 10:30 felt ill, was shivering and cold. He saw Paternoster the young miniature painter that he had so long befriended and who brought him a miniature of Major Heiberg which he was carefully overseeing for Mrs. Heiberg. He intended lunching as usual with Mrs. Mimi Brioschi as he had done on Sundays for forty years. But feeling too ill he asked Paternoster to go and tell her that he would not come, and he went to bed. Pietro telephoned for Dr. Brettschneider several times during the afternoon—he was out of town with Mrs. Brettschneider, but as soon as they returned shortly after dark went to the Tower where he found dear Moie with a high fever. He never wanted to disturb anyone, and would not let Pietro inform us. But the next morning after seeing him Dr. Brettschneider telephoned to me and I went down with Biba. He was dozing when we got there and as the doctor had ordered he was not to be disturbed and was to see no one we went away, coming

back later. But he still dozed. Biba returning again and then she saw him for a moment and he spoke of a book she had brought him. On Tuesday Dr. Bastianelli the physician saw him with Dr. Brettschneider. They told us he had bronchitis and a beginning of pneumonia in the right lung—the fever had gone down and was almost normal. He must see no one. We might go up for two minutes, Adolfo, Biba and I one at a time, but we must not talk, as it brought on his fits of coughing and weakened him. Mr. [Thomas Nelson] Page [the American Ambassador] came several times in the day, but was not allowed to see him. Wednesday the fever increased again and the doctors decided he must have a night nurse. He was very much opposed, but they sent her, Miss Frew, a Scotch trained nurse whom they knew well and trusted, whom he had often seen in attendance on Mrs. Aldrich his eighty-six year old friend. This nurse proved most devoted, competent and kind. He had his mail the day before and insisted on answering some notes, but Wednesday the doctors forbade his seeing any letters or being told of visitors; Dr. Brettschneider who had been his physician for many years feared that his heart would be weak, but it proved strong and carefully saving his strength, they hoped to get him through the disease, although influenza, turning into bronchitis and pneumonia seemed very dangerous at his age. Thursday and Friday, March 22 and 23, the fever kept high, he was most carefully watched the two doctors coming together twice a day, and Dr. Brettschneider coming several times. We all felt this his medical attendance was the best possible, both doctors were friends of many years standing of dear Moie, and were devotion itself, both standing high in their profession; Dr. Bastianelli having a European and American reputation. Saturday they asked that he be moved to a higher bed that could be put in the center of the room, hoping a better position and more air could help him. (He had been lying on the dear old green sofa, his bed for so many years.) The change was made rapidly and easily, but we saw that it wearied him. Miss Frew refused to leave him until we could get him another nurse for the day. He was much opposed, but when Miss Nesigh an English nurse, came whom he had known a long time, he made no remark. That evening Dr. Bastianelli said to me "It is very serious but not without hope." As he is usually very grave, we continued to hope very much. On Sunday I went to Mr. Page and asked him to come out to see the dear patient, hoping that the face of that cheerful old friend, might cheer him

up, for he did not speak to us now, or very rarely when we made ourselves seen. Mr. Page consulted with Dr. Bastianelli and was told that he had better not see him. On Monday morning the heart commenced to be weaker and the infection of the influenza spread to the left lung. He hardly spoke all day. In the evening the doctors had nearly given up all hope, but Dr. Raphael Bastianelli, the great surgeon, who called at about eight, told us that the case did not seem so desperate to him, so we hoped again. Monday night he was never conscious, and delirious most of the time. He talked about Greece, the Balkans and Russia. He mentioned our Bobi whom he had been anxiously expecting back from the front these days. At half past seven Tuesday morning he grew worse rapidly, the breathing was very labored and short, but the heart, the dear heart kept fairly strong. Dr. Brettschneider, Adolfo and I were there, but he knew no one. Gradually the breathing became weaker, and at 9:30 it stopped without his having regained consciousness. During the last four days friends had been coming in continually to inquire, bringing flowers which he was not allowed to see about him. Tuesday morning he was dressed lovingly by Pietro and the nurses, in his Sculptor's frock and cap and friends were allowed to see him for the last time. By evening he was completely covered and surrounded by flowers. Everybody brought them, high, low, rich and poor. Prof. Troilo was in Palermo with his family, unable to come on account of important examinations and sending pitiful letters and telegrams constantly. Many of his best friends were away for the war. Prof. Volterra was at the front and could not be reached in time. Mr. Page and all the Embassy and Consulate were most kind. Everybody felt that a great light, a great power for good had gone out. We consulted with Mr. Page as to all details and tried to do things as he would have liked as far as we knew, as you would have liked. Mr. Page found in his desk a letter, "to be opened after my death," in which he asked to be buried in the Soldiers' Cemetery at Arlington where is the work he loved the most and which he labored at with the greatest satisfaction; among the comrades of his youth of the heroic period of his life, which he always referred to with such pride. It was then decided to place him temporarily in the vault which he had himself built for the Family of Adolfo de Bosis (as the inscription runs) in the city cemetery of San Lorenzo at Varnis. There our little son Manlio and Adolfo's brother Arturo, whom he had so dearly loved and cherished, awaited him. It was a

bad day, stormy in the early morning, with wind and rain and sunshine later. Many of his friends dared not risk coming out and sent messages. On Wednesday the doctors took those precautions which are necessary before the long sea journey. On Thursday morning at 11 o'clock the coffin having been sealed in the presence of his friends and Mr. Page, the Consul, etc., we took our leave of the dearest of friends. Before carrying him out of the Tower, Mr. Page made a short address, speaking beautifully and feelingly of his great qualities as artist, man and patriot; of his loving kindness; his generosity that knew no stint, and hid itself from view. Adolfo then thanked Mr. Page and friends in the name of the Ezekiel family and said such words of love and sorrow as his sobs would permit. General Ettore followed, recalling the long years of their friendship and his fine record among the artists of this his second country. Then Prof. Terraresi said a few words of such loving sorrow that all our hearts were wrung again. He was carried out of the Tower to the flower covered hearse by loving arms and there before the crowd that had not been able to enter the Tower, which is very small, Mr. Ernest Nathan spoke in his beautiful spirit and manner of their common faith in a future life; of the beautiful example he has left to the young, and of his unwaivering faith in the highest ideals. The gallery leading to the Tower was filled with flowers, and many wreaths and floral pieces were carried after the hearse. We all followed, first on foot, then in carriages, to the distant cemetery, and thereafter the coffin was lowered into the vault. Mr. Lowrie, long his friend and rector of the American Episcopal Church, spoke very appreciative words about his broad religious spirit and life, his influence for good, reading passages from Job and the Psalms; words that comforted those of every faith who were present. I am confident that not having left any instructions as to religious rites, simply stating he wished to be buried in the Southern Soldiers' Cemetery, with the Masonic rites, we succeeded in interpreting the true spirit of his religious feeling essentially Jewish, yet appreciative of the beauty and helpfulness in all other religions, as shown in his belonging to the Theosophic Lodge here in Rome for many years, knowing that in America high honors, Masonic rites and such religious ceremonies as his family think fitting will accompany him to his last resting place. We simply felt that here his friends should gather round him and express each in their own way, their love and devotion. So a young rabbi from the Roman synagogue recited the ritual prayers on the day of his death; Catholic friends prayed by his side in

their own way; Mr. Nathan representing the Free Masons and his Jewish friends, Mr. Lowrie his numerous Protestant friends. We wanted the rabbi to accompany the hearse to the cemetery, but that it seemed he could not do. I trust that we have won your approval. It was our first wish. All was done after consultation with Mr. Page, as being the representative of his own country and an old and trusted friend. Mr. Page hopes to be able to send the dear body to America within a month, probably along with that of his dear friend, Major Heiberg. But conditions are now so difficult and strange that he cannot be sure of it. . . . I shall send you all that is published about him here and I will copy for you extracts from the more interesting letters. Everyone has the same story to tell of loving service, unflinching kindness; high example, fine beautiful life. You know it all; yet one's only comfort is in recalling it all in feeling that nothing can ever deprive us of that inspiring memory. Dear Sister Hannah, words are so poor to tell of one's deepest feelings. I can only say that he was and always will be dearer to me than words can tell, just as tho we had been of one blood; that he did me more good than anyone else in the world, save my own Father and husband, in every way; that I have never seen a greater light in human life; that not an hour passes or will pass as long as I live that I shall not be grateful to him. Adolfo could tell you better, but we are as one, and with him and with our children it is the same. To have known him and been loved by him, is the richest thing they can have in life, and they know it. Now we are trying to be like him in the ways that are possible. We have always looked to him as an example, but now more than ever; and so it is (tho' in a lesser degree for we were the nearest) with everyone that knew him. The young people that he helped are without number, and always so that his left hand knew not what his right hand did. Often we have learned from others after many months, of cases in which he had adjusted difficult family situations, of careers straightened out by his influence. We have seen characters improve under the sunshine of his friendship. As an artist, fortunately, tangible proofs are everywhere of his genius, which will send down his name for ages. Who knows but that some other artist may yet embody in a work of art his moral and spiritual figure. Bound to all that loved him, we feel ourselves a very part of his own family, and hope that you too will consider us.

Lovingly,

LILLIAN DE BOSIS.

Little remains to be added. As soon as circumstances will permit the body will be brought to these shores and placed in Arlington Cemetery, the beautiful national abode near the capital city of the nation.

Moses Ezekiel has gained earthly immortality through the spiritual offspring of his genius. By the score these productions dot museums, public places and homes in Europe and America. Things of beauty, they will remain joys forever for unnumbered generations. They combine three elements that had their meeting place in the spiritual make up of this sculptor, the Greek sense of beauty, the Jewish strain of religiosity and the American outlook of freedom. His great groups such as the *Religious Liberty*, the Jefferson monument and the *New South* furnish enduring witness to this triple endowment. He was greatly gifted and he greatly achieved. He stands in the foremost rank of American sculptors, a worthy companion of Hiram Powers and Thomas Crawford. He was an artist exponent of the American ideal. As no other sculptor he made this ideal visible through his works. The men and women who were his intimates and who, while they live will cherish and bear testimony to the charm of his manner, the grace of his courtesy, the fascination of his speech, the warmth of his sympathies and the devotion to family and friends, to fatherland and humanity, will, too, in time pass on as he has already passed and all these things will become a tradition and memory, but what he himself wrought at the urge of the divine force within him will continue through the ages. Mottoes which he chiseled in enduring marble as expressive of the ideas he desired to express through the figures he had wrought may well be set down as his own epitaphs. Indeed, as a loyal son of the house of Israel, "his mission was peace," as a true American he urged constantly "proclaim liberty throughout the land," and as a large hearted and humanity loving man, it may be written of him also that "his charity knew no race or creed."

HEINRICH GRAETZ, THE HISTORIAN:
ON THE CENTENARY OF HIS BIRTH, OCTOBER 31, 1917.
BY GOTTHARD DEUTSCH, PH. D.

Among the numerous charges of anti-Semites, intended to prove the inferiority of the Semites which in reality means the inferiority both from a moral and intellectual standpoint of the Jews, is the assertion that they are unable to write history. This charge was made by Renan¹ who, while personally free from bias, is largely responsible for the popularity which the term anti-Semite, a euphemism for bigotry and national conceit, has obtained since 1879.

For the refutation of this charge nothing more is necessary than an attentive reading of the seventh chapter of the Book of Daniel, where in apocalyptic form the development of universal history is given from the foundation of the Babylonian world empire to the time of the author. Equally conclusive as proof that prejudice is at the basis of the charge which denies to the Semites the ability to write history are the vivid descriptions of the growth of the monarchical idea in ancient Israel, found in the first Book of Samuel. The outlines of the character of Saul in his growing fear of David's popularity might well be placed by the side of similar character portraits given by Tacitus, when he shows us the drifting of sentiment in Rome from republicanism to despotism in the history of Augustus and Tiberius.

We have still a later testimony to the historic temperament—if we may so call it—of the Jewish people, in Josephus, and it certainly cannot be due to a change in the Jewish

¹ *L'Antichrist*, Paris, 1873. The same statement is made by Lagarde in *Juden und Indogermanen*, 1887, vol. ii, p. 330.

national character, but to one of external causes, when, as we have to admit, history was not cultivated by the Jews for centuries after Josephus' time.

These external causes are twofold. They lie in the depression of national consciousness which is never favorable to history, and in the peculiar development of the Jewish religion. This, concerning itself mainly with religious practice, was so occupied with the regulation of the ritual, considered unaltered since the days of Moses and unalterable for all times to come, that it made no difference who the author of a statement was.

The first cause is evident, not merely when we look upon the national conditions in the ages of Herodotus and Thucydides, but no less in the days of Josephus, when the heroic struggle against the overwhelming power of the Roman world empire inspired even a defeated general with the proud desire of leaving to posterity the memory of his deeds. It was for the same psychologic reason that the subsequent centuries took no interest in history, for—so the Talmud tersely puts it—"recent tribulations make us forget the former ones."² With equal distinctness the spiritual leaders of Israel gave us the reason for their indifference to the inner history when they said:

Even what a brilliant student will discover by his research, was already revealed to Moses on Mount Sinai.³

Since religious thought is absolutely stable and was defined in all details when Israel's lawgiver first promulgated the principles of Judaism, it is quite inconsequential who the men were who interpreted it to us.

We therefore find in the whole Talmudic and Midrashic literature no connected historic account of Israel's life, and the fragments that we find interspersed in legal discussions

² *Berakot*, 13a.

³ *Yer. Peah*, ii, fol. 17a.

and in homilies are mere folklore.⁴ The total absence of any biography and of any chronological distinctness proves that, during the five centuries following Josephus, historic interest had become practically extinct among Jewish scholars. Nor was it any better during the following, the so-called Gaonic, period from the seventh to the eleventh century. The *Seder Tannaim ve-Amoraim*, dating from the ninth century was written not for historical but for practical purposes, intended to guide the student of the law in rendering decisions, and the *Epistle of Sherira Gaon*, written a century afterwards, was, while full of chronological details, a mere apologetic treatise, proving against the Karaites that the Rabbanitic law was ancient tradition, carefully preserved by an uninterrupted chain of rabbinic scholars.

From the twelfth century we find, indeed, a strictly historic interest growing. How limited it was even then, is proved by the lamentable fact that Rashi, the overtowering personality in the rabbinic literature of the eleventh century found no biographer among his numerous disciples and his scholarly grandsons who worshipped him, as he well deserved. Realizing the impossibility to give within the space assigned to an appreciation of the master Jewish historian an outline of the development of Jewish historiography, I shall limit myself to two of the most popular books of this literature, dating from the sixteenth and the eighteenth century.

David Gans in his popular book, *Zemah David*, gave a dry chronological enumeration of facts. He informed us that Rabbi Eliezer Treves of Frankfort-on-the-Main died in 1563 at the age of 72, that in 1571 the Jewish community of Ferrara suffered from an earthquake, that in 1574 the Jews

⁴ Neubauer's view (*Mediæval Jewish Chronicles*, Oxford, 1887, vol. i, p. vii) that the Book of Adam (*Baba Mezia*, 85b) was a historical work is untenable. Careful reading of the text cited shows that the Talmud speaks of God's Book in which the deeds and happenings of all mankind, present and future, are inscribed.

of Moravia were attacked by a mob and that on the third of Adar, 351 (1591) Rabbi Loewe ben Bezalel, the learned chief rabbi of Prague, *der fuertrefflichste und gelehrteste Jude im römischen Reich* ⁶ was received in private audience by Emperor Rudolph II and that no living soul knew the profound secret that they discussed.⁶ In the similar mediæval style of a dry enumeration of chronologically arranged facts we hear occasionally of the marriage of the daughter of Emperor Sigismund to Duke Albrecht; or of a rain of wheat and similar unusual events.

Not much better is the work of Jehiel Heilprin of Minsk, written in the middle of the eighteenth century.⁷ He gives us a detailed biography of Adam who was created, Friday, Tishri 1, in the year 1 at 6 A. M., though it took four hours from the time the Lord gathered the dust until he breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. We are further informed in the biographies of the *Tannaim* and *Amoraim* what they had been in a previous incarnation. Still, we are grateful for the meager biographic data given to us by David Gans and for the valuable arrangement of the Talmudic notes on the *Tannaim* and *Amoraim*, furnished us by Jehiel Heilprin.

Leaving the often amateurish and always prejudiced works of Christians aside, we arrive at the first attempt at writing a scientific Jewish history from a Jewish standpoint, presented to us by Isaac Marcus Jost (1793-1860). The date of Jost's first history (1820) proves the truth of our original statement that proud self-consciousness must furnish the basis of historiography. The French Revolution had for the first time, after centuries of suffering, recognized the claim of the Jews to the Rights of Man. The reaction following

⁶ *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. d. J.*, 1901, vol. xlv, p. 195.

⁶ *Zemah David* was often edited. Quotations are easily found by the date.

⁷ *Seder Hadorot*, edited in improved form by H. Maskileison, Warsaw, 1878.

the battle of Waterloo denied this claim, but the intervening quarter of a century had imbued the Jew with self-respect. He appeared before the powers of the earth, not as a cringing beggar but as a champion of his inalienable rights. Jost was the interpreter of this claim, which he established by the history of his people. Doing pioneer work, when the material had not been collected, and hampered by the rationalistic tendencies of the post-Mendelssohnian era which saw in Rabbinism only a force of retardation, his work was soon superseded. The mere fact that not one of his three works on Jewish history saw a second edition, while some volumes of Graetz's history had the rare distinction of going through a fifth edition, is proof of the superiority of Graetz's work. The comparative valuation of these two works has in my opinion not been given more clearly and more fairly than in the words of Ludwig Philippson, the master publicist, whose calmness of judgment is so much the more meritorious as his opinion was written in a time of chauvinistic excitement during the early days of modern German anti-Semitism. Philippson says:

Jost's work is superior to that of Graetz by its scientific arrangement, but the latter again is more vivid in its tone, richer in material and more popular in its style. In addition it is based on original study of the sources.⁸

History has rendered its verdict on the work of Graetz, and while numerous valuable monographs have appeared during the forty-three years (1917) since the completion of the master's work, and a great deal of material has since come to light, no one had the courage and the ability to cast this material into a comprehensive work which would take the place of that of Graetz, as the latter's has completely superseded the work of Jost. The verdict is so complete and so decisive that criticism, especially on the part of one who is

⁸ *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, 1880, p. 21.

proud to call himself a disciple of the master, will not be misinterpreted as belittling. I therefore may preface my appreciation of Graetz with the words of the Italian historian, Ferdinand Gabbot of Turin, who has done some valuable work on Jewish history. Gabbot says:

Graetz's work, while a great undertaking, cannot forever remain fundamental.⁹

It is a source of just pride to be able to point to a precedent from the time of strictest belief in authority. Solomon Luria, the contemporary of Joseph Caro, who by his *Shulhan Aruk* established a new standard code of rabbinical law, writes in condemnation of Shem Tob ibn Gaon, the apologist of Maimonides who attempts to defend Maimonides in a case in which unless our text is corrupt he was certainly wrong:

It is not the proper way of showing respect to great men, that we should be their blind admirers, and not be willing to admit that they were mistaken in occasional instances.¹⁰

Whatever we may accomplish in correcting individual statements in Graetz's masterwork, and no matter how much these corrections will affect the general and fundamental conceptions of Jewish history, Graetz's merits will secure him a lasting place, not only in the special field of Jewish history, but in the world's historical literature.

We can never forget that Jewish history has to cope with a perhaps unparalleled difficulty. It extends over every country of the globe with which the history of humanity has to deal. Its sources are written in numerous languages, Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, Spanish, Latin, German, Slavic, etc., and, what is worse, these sources are scattered in books which either possess altogether no historic interest, or deal with the history of other nations, mentioning Jews only very incidentally. The

⁹ *La grande opera del Graetz, che si estende dal tempi piu antichi all'età moderna è ormai troppo invecchiata, pur restanda sempre fondamentale. Vessillo Israelitico, 1917, p. 433.*

¹⁰ *Yam Shel Shelomoh, Baba Kamma, viii, 9.*

mastering of this material in his historic coherence and the diligent, painstaking investigation of details which we find in Graetz's work, will forever remain a stupendous monument to his industry. In every volume the notes, embodied in the appendix, bear testimony to this statement. Out of the many two may be quoted. In the appendix to the third volume Graetz investigated the conflicting and partly legendary reports on the high priest Simon ben Kamhit, placing the sources, as found in *Babli*, *Yerushalmi*, *Midrash Rabba* and *Tosefta*, side by side and comparing them with the report of Josephus. In a note to volume vii he minutely examined various reports of mediæval sources on the opposition of the dogmatists to Maimonides' rationalism, in order to ascertain the correct date of the protest of the Oriental rabbis against the *Herem* pronounced by Solomon *le Petit* against the readers of Maimonides' "Guide of the Perplexed."

While Graetz won the admiration of students of Jewish history by these thorough source studies, he also carried his readers away with him by his strong Jewish sentiment. One need only read the stirring appeal to humanity, when he describes the policy inaugurated by the Third Lateran Council, characterized by the yellow badge legislation,¹¹ or the noble words of self-consciousness, free from all boastfulness, with which he begins the period of emancipation, in order¹² to understand the stimulating influence which the man and his work had on the study of and the interest in Jewish history. This strong Jewishness explains why his work was made the target of attack by clerical and national fanatics. Even those who regret his rather unhistoric temper, as I shall outline by some instances, can appreciate why Graetz should have felt with Heine's motto to "The Rabbi of Bacharach":

*Und ich selbst begann zu rasen,
Und ich wurde fast wie du.*

¹¹ *Geschichte*, vol. vii, p. 17 (3d edition).

¹² *Ibid.*, vol. xi, chapter 1.

Another specimen of his Jewishness, small in itself, though typical, is his love for clever Hebrew puns, the characteristic feature of the *Maskil* who had just graduated from the *Beth Hamidrash* with its dreary study of dry and antiquated Talmudic topics.¹³

History requires that we try to understand even the historian historically. Hirsch¹⁴ Graetz was born October 31, 1817, in the little town of Xions in the province of Posen. The district in which his birthplace was located, annexed to Prussia at the first partition of Poland, became definitely Prussian by the rearrangement of the map of Europe at the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Prussia was a hard taskmaster for the Jews, and the Polish Jews, annexed to Prussia with the territory of their Polish masters, were not a welcome addition in the eyes of Frederick the Great who confessed not to have a foible for that *Kroppzeug* (rabble),¹⁵ preferring, as he said, to see his state peopled rather by "human beings than by Jews."¹⁶ Yet the hard and unsympathetic taskmaster was an efficient administrator, not charitable but just. The main concern of the conqueror was to make human beings of the Jews, and this was done with the well-known efficiency of the Prussian drill-sergeant. A law, issued July 14, 1824, introduced compulsory secular education for Jewish children, and when his excellency, the minister of education in Prussia,

¹³ *Ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 303; viii, p. 157; xi, pp. 425, 426.

¹⁴ The name Heinrich is hardly genuine. Graetz's father, a plain butcher in a Polish country town, was not likely to have indulged in the luxury of such a mimicry, when naming his son a hundred years ago. On the title-page of his first work, published in 1846, Graetz called himself Hirsch. In his later works he uses the initial H exclusively. The Latin catalogue of the lectures, given in the University of Breslau is, as far, as I am aware, the only source for the translation of the *Hirsch* into *Henricus*.

¹⁵ Heppner, *Juden in Posner Landen*, Koschmin, 1909, p. 182.

¹⁶ *Monatsschrift*, 1895, p. 379.

issued an order, it meant business for everybody from the *Oberpräsident* (governor) to the *Landjäger* (town marshal). This made the difference between the development of the Polish Jews assigned to Prussia and those assigned to Austria and Russia. Austria, especially under Joseph II to whom the annexation of Poland was largely due, was sympathetic but not efficient; Russia was brutal and inefficient, while Prussia was not sympathetic, but thoroughly efficient. This accounts for the array of brilliant scholars that came from Prussian Poland, within the roll of which Jewish scholarship counts among others, next to Graetz, Fürst, Jacob Levy, M. Joel and A. Berliner. It explains to us the young Graetz and his enthusiasm for Samson Raphael Hirsch, whose "Nineteen Letters"¹⁷ had kindled in many young men the gladsome conviction that all that Judaism needed for its perpetuation was the assimilation of secular culture.

It was from this conviction that Graetz wrote to the future leader of modern orthodoxy that he wished to place himself under his tutelage. We can understand Graetz with his intense Jewishness on one side and his yearning for German culture on the other. We can understand him, judging the rabbis of Prussian Poland at that time, mostly disciples of Akiba Eger (1761-1837). Graetz spent his boyhood days in the little town of Zerkov, the birthplace of Eduard Lasker, afterwards the famous German statesman. The rabbi of that place Abisch Wreschner¹⁸ was up to recently the hero of many

¹⁷ Altona, 1836.

¹⁸ Abisch (Abraham) Wreschner, who died in 1875 having served his congregation for fifty years or more, and who was the grandfather of the American Jewish philanthropist, Nathan Barnert, ex-mayor of Paterson, N. J., is said to have insisted on compelling Jews to bring their legal difficulties to him instead of going to the secular laid court. For summoning an unwilling party to his tribunal he was indicted for blackmail. When the charge of the public prosecutor was interpreted to him, *Reb*

folklore stories, which illustrate the naïveté of the Polish rabbi who still believed himself in the eighteenth century under the often cruel, but also easily evaded yoke of the whimsical lord. Jewishness and modern culture were the combined ideal which Graetz formed in his environment and in which he was fortified by the apologetic works of Samson Raphael Hirsch in whose house in Emden he spent three eventful years of apprenticeship from 1837 to 1840.

It is somewhat depressing for a teacher to have to confess that our best and most productive scholars were autodidacts. The only exceptions among the representatives of the first generation of workers in the field of *juedische Wissenschaft* are Zunz and Jost, but even they were self-taught in the application of scientific methods to Jewish subjects. Reggio, Luzzatto, Rapoport, Isaac Hirsch Weiss, and many others saw neither university nor secondary school. Graetz, Steinschneider, Zechariah Frankel entered the university without training in secondary schools. Before entering the University of Breslau in 1842, Graetz spent two years as tutor in a family in Wollstein, another town of the province of Posen, being there the head of a circle of young men eager to emancipate themselves from the *yeshibah* ideal. In Breslau he continued to live up to the ideal of Samson Raphael Hirsch, being the literary champion of the orthodox party whose cause he advocated against Abraham Geiger, then at the height of his "storm and stress" period as rabbi of Breslau. Graetz wrote articles for *Der Orient*, edited by his countryman, Julius Fürst, and initiated a movement to present an address to Zechariah Frankel, when the latter published his sensational letter announcing his withdrawal from the rabbinical conference of Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1845.¹⁹

Abisch said: "Tell him, he is an ignoramus; he does not even know what Rashi says in his commentary to Exodus, where he declares it the duty of a Jew to submit his law cases to a Jewish tribunal."

¹⁹ "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. v, p. 482.

While in this way tending to a more liberal conception of Judaism, Graetz still remained attached to his former master, to whom he dedicated his thesis, "Gnosticism and Judaism," for which he received the degree of doctor of philosophy from the University of Breslau, and whom he followed when Hirsch was called to Nikolsburg as *Landrabbiner* of Moravia. Neither Graetz, whom Hirsch recommended as principal of the Jewish school of Lundenburg, a small town not far from Nikolsburg, nor Hirsch himself felt at home in his new environment. Hirsch could not develop a useful activity in a community which was so orthodox that his work would have to be that of a reformer, and Graetz hardly felt at home as principal of an elementary school of a small town. He left his position after two years of activity, going to Berlin, where he delivered lectures on Jewish history, and prepared the great work of his life. He planned it from the start to comprise eleven volumes which, as the second volume became too bulky and had to be divided into two parts, comprises actually twelve, and began it with the fourth which deals with the history of the Talmudic period. This volume showed at once his superiority over his predecessor Jost. The latter, as Philippson properly says, while of a more systematic and methodical mind, was a child of the rationalistic school, who could never forget the narrowness, rudeness and ill-breeding of the Polish teachers who were in charge of the instruction in the orphan asylum of Wolfenbüttel, where he spent the cheerless days of his boyhood. While representing a generation following that of the shallow rationalists of the first post—Mendelssohnian period, represented by David Friedländer (1750-1834), Herz Homberg (1759-1841) and Peter Beer (1758-1838), to whom rabbinic Judaism was a mass of superstition, bigotry and conceit, Jost had not so far emancipated himself as to look upon the era of the Talmud as an epoch of Jewish history to be comprehended as a necessary link between the Judaism of the past and that of the present. Graetz, guided by the feel-

ing that Talmudic Judaism was an evolution of Biblical Judaism, entitled to the same historic interpretation as the Christian tendencies in opposition to which it had evolved, was more just to its currents of thought and to its ideals.

Yet the work of Graetz was not at first a success. The publisher refused to continue the venture. Fortunately the publication society, established at that time by Ludwig Philippson²⁰ came to his assistance, and it redounds to the credit of Jost that, as a member of the publication committee, he voted in favor of the publication of an undertaking which was to become the successful rival of his own. Graetz went to work with his untiring zeal, publishing in 1856 the third volume, comprising the Maccabean period, to be followed by the fifth a year later, and so in succession until the last (the eleventh) volume brought the work down to the year 1848, the period of the emancipation, although it practically closed with the rather too extensive description of the ritual murder charge of Damascus in 1840. This volume brought him into conflict with the publication society through his anti-reform tendencies which had not changed since his student days in Breslau, although he had soon after the publication of the fourth volume become completely and lastingly estranged from his former teacher and protector, Hirsch.

Having brought the history of the Jews down to his own time from the close of the biblical era, Graetz went to Palestine in order to study the local scenery before writing the history of biblical days. To this visit the modernization of the educational system of Palestine is in part due. Graetz who was denounced in Jerusalem as an infidel saw the iniquity and the degrading influences of the *Halukah*, noted the insufficiency of the old-fashioned relief work, and so became instrumental in establishing the first orphan asylum in Jerusalem

²⁰ *Institut zur Förderung der Israelitischen Literatur*, 1855.
"The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. vi, p. 609.

which, combined with the von Laemel school, was also instrumental in improving the educational system of Palestine.

The presentation of the history of Bible times was bound still more to widen the gulf which divided Graetz from his old friend, Hirsch and the latter's following. We can fully understand how this opposition had to grow. In the fourth volume Graetz as a historian had to take the attitude of explaining rabbinical legislation from the condition of its time. The law, *e. g.*, which restricts the necessity of resisting religious persecution to the extent of sacrificing one's life,²¹ Graetz explains from the conditions of the Hadrianic times. To Hirsch such an explanation was rank heresy, for, unless the rabbinic law is the authentic interpretation of the Mosaic law, valid for all times and environments, it cannot be authoritative.²² Graetz resented this condemnation, and in the preface to the sixth volume speaks of the man whom in the dedication of his first work, he had called "his never-to-be-forgotten teacher and fatherly adviser," "a bigoted ignoramus."²³ It is, however, probable that the animosity of Hirsch against Graetz had its real origin in the latter's connection with the Breslau Seminary and his identification with the views represented by Zechariah Frankel.

When Frankel, as stated before, had openly and with an excess of zeal announced his withdrawal from the Reform Movement, he rallied around himself the conservative element, which advocated freedom of research combined with observance in ritual matters, though allowing a certain latitude in

²¹ *Geschichte*, vol. iv, p. 157, 3d edition.

²² *Jeschurun*, Frankfort-on-the-Main, vol. iv, pp. 289-307.

²³ The expression *ketzerriechender Klausner* is difficult to translate, for the word *Klausner* is hardly meant in the usual German connotation of recluse, but in the Yiddish usage of a man, spending his days in the *Beth Hamidrash* as a prebendary. Such men were more often selected for their poverty than for their learning, and made up by their bigotry for what they lacked in scholarship. The statement was omitted from all subsequent editions.

regard to especially burdensome prohibitions. This principle became afterwards known as that of the Breslau school. Like all compromises Frankel's view seemed to gain in popularity. He seemed to be the providential man to tide over the difficulties of the period of transition. For this reason he was selected as the first principal of the first German training school for rabbis. This school, founded upon the suggestion of the radical reformer Abraham Geiger from the legacy of Jonas Fränckel (1771-1846), president of the Breslau congregation and one of Geiger's most determined supporters, was hardly intended to become the exponent of conservatism, but the executors of Fränckel's will thought differently, and elected Zechariah Frankel (1801-1875), a man of undisputed worth as scholar, conservative enough to win the confidence of the old generation, and progressive enough to do justice to the demands of the new time.

A man of that type was bound to arouse the animosity of the orthodox element as being more dangerous than the radical school. Hirsch attacked the seminary from the day it opened its doors. Frankel ignored these attacks. There may have been some personal animosity between the two men. At all events Frankel's allusion that he did not take Hirsch seriously as a scholar²⁴ would point to such a feeling. It was said previously that Graetz had enthusiastically greeted Frankel as the leader of Judaism, and, when the seminary was opened, Graetz was selected as teacher of history. Thus from the opening of the institution in 1854, the year when the first volume of his history was issued until his death at

²⁴ Hirsch, *Vorläufige Abrechnung*, in *Jeschurun*, Nissan, 5621 (1861). Frankel spoke in the controversy which Hirsch aroused against his Introduction into the Mishnah of *Siddur Lomdim* with whom it is beneath his dignity to enter into any controversy. Hirsch very aptly replied that Moses did not consider it beneath his dignity to preach to the carrier of wood and the drawer of water.

Munich, September 7, 1891, Graetz was connected with the Breslau seminary, and remained its brightest star, shedding luster upon it as its best known teacher.

We find in older Jewish history that the lives of the Jewish scholars are their works. This is largely the case with Graetz. Besides the few notes on his education and his early struggles, there is little to be said of Graetz's life which is not connected with his literary activity in the field of Jewish history and biblical exegesis. He married, while teacher in Lundenburg, Marie Monasch, the daughter of a Hebrew publisher of Krotoschin, who duplicated the work begun by Mendelssohn and continued by Wolf Heidenheim, to be afterwards imitated by Schmidt in Vienna, Landau in Prague and some smaller firms in Southern Germany. The demand for Bibles and liturgical works with German translations in Hebrew characters and a Hebrew commentary moved more and more Eastward, and has since died out completely. Graetz's family life was exceedingly happy. His wife lived for him. After his death her mind became a blank. Life had lost all meaning for her. Of his children his oldest son, Leo, became professor of physics in the University of Munich and holds a leading rank in his profession. A grandson of his, Franz Cohn, is professor of medicine in the University of Greifswald. Should this be a type of the evolution of modern Judaism, from the one-sided Talmudic education of the Polish *Beth Hamidrash* to *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, and through it to complete secularism? History alone can give a final reply.

Of Graetz's activity in the work of improving Palestinian conditions mention has been made already. He also took part in a convention, called in Paris in 1878 by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, of which he was an enthusiastic supporter, for the sake of considering action in the case of the Rumanian Jews, a step, which, auspiciously begun, ended in complete failure. Yet, while Graetz took part in the activity of the

Alliance, he was very far from the assimilatory tendencies which actuated the leaders of this organization. Indeed, he was their strongest opponent, for he was a Zionist, before the name was known. The clearest presentation of his views, is his characterization of Judah Halevi's philosophy, which he calls the only possible interpretation of Judaism.²⁵ The same principle is evident in his friendship with Moritz Hess (1811-1875), the author of *Rom und Jerusalem* to whom he devoted a warm appreciation²⁶ and in his essay *Die Verjüngung des jüdischen Stammes*²⁷ in which he defined the theory that the servant of *Yahveh* in Isaiah is the people of Israel. This essay led to a court trial. The Catholic priest Sebastian Brunner, a champion of clerical politics in Vienna, induced the prosecutor to institute proceedings against the author and the publisher for libeling Judaism. This move was a technical trick in order to give publicity to the fact that modern Jews denied the belief in a personal Messiah and ridiculed Christianity, whose fundamental dogma demands the interpretation of "the Servant of the Lord" as Jesus. From an American point of view it is interesting to call attention to the fact that, while Graetz's view of Messianic prophecy was strongly condemned by the orthodox of Europe under the leadership of Israel Hildesheimer, Isaac Leeser, the champion of conservatism in America, thought well enough of Graetz's essay to translate it into English.²⁸ I also have reason to believe that Graetz was the author of a pamphlet, "Letters of an Englishwoman on Judaism and Semitism"²⁹ which he handed to me personally, when it appeared, and

²⁵ *Geschichte*, vol. vi, p. 132, 3d edition.

²⁶ *Monatsschrift*, 1875.

²⁷ *Jahrbuch*, edited by Leopold Kompert, Vienna, 1863.

²⁸ *The Occident*, vol. xxii, p. 193 et seq.

²⁹ *Briefwechsel einer englischen Dame über Judentum und Semitismus*, Stuttgart, 1883.

recommended to my special attention. If he was not the author, his ideas are certainly reflected in it.

This nationalistic interpretation of Judaism explains to us also his bitter, almost contemptuous attitude to reform Judaism. He saw in its leading features, like organ, prayer in the vernacular, and especially in the elimination of the prayer for Israel's restoration to Palestine, a mere cringing to Christianity. Men, like David Friedländer and Israel Jacobson (1768-1828) were to him "shallow heads" and *poseurs*. He did not seem to be conscious of the idea that his own presentation of the *Shulhan Aruk* as an ossification of Judaism, of its author as a mystic whom his visionary delusions had made almost a megalomaniac³⁰ and of the glossarists of the *Shulhan Aruk* as pedants³¹ who arouse only our pity, demanded that the religious practices based on these sources had to be revised. Nor did he ever seem to be conscious of the consequences of his own radical views of the Bible which deny to the book of Esther all historical basis, assign it to the Maccabean era, which date some Psalms from Maccabean times, date the Book of *Kohelet* from the age of Herod, and assign parts of the Pentateuch to the exilic period. These were bound to exercise an influence on the ritual of the synagogue and on religious education which are based on the strictly traditional view of the authorship of biblical books. We have to admit that Jost, writing in the midst of these struggles for an adaptation of Judaism to changed conditions, displayed a more historic temper.

It must also be said that Graetz's enthusiasm for the French Revolution and its epochmaking work of emancipating the Jews carried him into an overestimation of the importance and the sincerity of the leading men of France and their work. He did not live long enough to see in the Dreyfus

³⁰ *Geschichte*, vol. ix, pp. 298-300, 3d edition.

³¹ *Ibid.*, vol. x, pp. 74, 75, 3d edition.

case the great difference between a theory, laid down by doctrinaires in an era of excitement, and making ideas realities in the consciousness of the population. Yet he might have known that Mirabeau's interest in Jewish emancipation was, in part at least, a political scheme calculated to arouse the masses of the rural population to an overthrow of the rule of the Jacobins.³² This overestimation of the French spirit coupled with a certain prejudice against the Philistinism of German princes and officials, led to some unfair statements. So he spoke of Germans in one place by contrasting them directly with "the civilized nations."³³ These remarks are found most frequently in the eleventh volume whose publication coincided with the rise of the strong Teutonic chauvinism following the Franco-German war. Not prominently noticed until the beginning of the anti-Semitic movement in 1878, Graetz's anti-German views were brought by some German intellectuals like Heinrich Treitschke, representing moderate political liberalism, to public attention. The latter quoted various instances of Graetz's anti-German prejudice, as he termed it, as evidence for the leading theory of the anti-Semites that the Jew will always remain a stranger to the nation in whose midst he lives. Even the champions of the Jewish side joined in these attacks; the politician Ludwig Bamberger (1823-1899)³⁴ called Graetz "the Stöcker of the synagogue." Others were H. B. Oppenheim³⁵ and even Graetz's former disciple, the celebrated philosopher, Hermann Cohen (1842-1918).³⁶

These attacks embittered Graetz's last years, and they prejudiced the public mind so far that the historical com-

³² *Correspondance entre le comte de Mirabeau et le comte de la Marck*, vol. ii, pp. 374-377.

³³ *Geschichte*, vol. xi, p. 62.

³⁴ *Deutschtum und Judentum*, in *Unsere Zeit*, February, 1880.

³⁵ *Semiten und Arier*, Mannheim, 1880.

³⁶ *Ein Bekenntnis zur Judenfrage*, Berlin, 1880.

mission, created by the Union of German Jewish Congregations, excluded the greatest authority on Jewish history from membership. Had he lived six years longer, we may be confident that he would have been a leading figure at the first Zionist congress. It is also possible that, had he been able to revise the eleventh volume for a second edition, he would have toned down some of the harsh statements which militate against the fundamental principle of all historiography to understand all movements from their own time. Another Graetz will have to assign more space to the economic and social life of the Jews and less to some literary productions which have a mere ephemeral value. He will have to resurrect the *Haskalah* authors whom Graetz entirely overlooked. He will have to assign their proper places to the Hebrew novel and to Yiddish literature with their great influence on the masses. He will have to correct some errors in details of which no work of such large scope can be entirely free. He will have to free himself from that romanticism which colored Graetz's presentation of characters like Charlemagne, making him overlook the fact that such have become heroes of legends in Jewish as well as in general history. He will be even more just to Christianity, though the blood of a warmhearted Jew will always curl at the recital of the atrocities perpetrated on the Jews in the name of a supposedly higher conception of ethics. Yet, when a new Graetz shall have superseded the still unequalled master of Jewish historiography so completely that his work will be reduced to the rank of source material, Graetz will still remain the master-builder of Jewish history, both as scholar and as writer.

EDUCATIONAL REFORMS IN EUROPE IN THEIR
RELATION TO JEWISH EMANCIPATION—
1778-1919.*

BY MAX J. KOHLER, A. M., LL. B.

It is proposed herein to consider some of the measures inaugurated during the era of Jewish emancipation to induce the Jews of Europe to have their children taught the vernacular of the country of their residence, including both voluntary efforts, commonly at their own initiative, and governmental regulations for such compulsory elementary instruction for Jewish children. The period under consideration begins with the epochal opening by Moses Mendelssohn's disciples, David Friedländer and the latter's brother-in-law, Isaac Daniel Itzig, chiefly at the instance of the great reformer himself, of the Jewish Free School of Berlin in 1778, in which German and French were among the subjects first taught in a Jewish school in Germany, and it ends with the Treaty of Berlin of 1878, which accorded to the Jews of Roumania, in theory at least, equal participation in public school instruction, and the Polish treaty of 1919, which accorded full and equal rights and authority to maintain Jewish schools at public expense to the Jews, and reserved to the government the right to make instruction in Polish compulsory. The importance of such instruction in the vernacular, as a factor in the actual emancipation of the Jews and their preparation for equal civil and political rights in the countries of their residence, cannot be exaggerated, though

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the subject has never been treated comprehensively, and the intention to do more herein than collate some notes on the subject is expressly disclaimed. As was well said by Dr. A. Fürst, in depicting the purposes of Israel Jacobson, one of the great leaders in this movement, the aim was to:

effect inner emancipation, self-liberation, from the spiritual shackles of the Ghetto. In return for acceptance of "rights of man," Judaism was to assume the "duties of citizenship," was his most profound conviction.¹

It has been pointed out that about 1740, in the days of Moses Mendelssohn's youth, merely carrying a German book around in the Berlin Jewish community was an offense punishable by expulsion from the city,² and frequent exceptions among the Sephardic Jews and isolated Ashkenazic Jews³ to this prevailing ignorance of the vernacular during this period did not change the average condition. It is therefore not strange that leaders in the work of Jewish emancipation during the fifty or sixty years following our American Declaration of Independence, such as Dohm, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Mirabeau, Joseph II, Napoleon I and Lewis Way, among Christians, and Mendelssohn, Friedländer, Wessely, Jacobson, Perl, Levinsohn, Max Lilienthal, Mandelstamm, the Günzburgs, Sir Moses Montefiore, Baron de Hirsch, and Benjamin Schwarzfeld, among Jews, should have vigorously

¹ *Die jüdischen Realschulen Deutschlands, Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, vol. lviii, p. 438 (1914). See, however, I. Zangwill, "The Voice of Jerusalem," pp. 254-262.

² L. Geiger, *Geschichte der Juden in Berlin*, Berlin, 1871, vol. i, p. 80. But see Eschelbacher, *Die Anfänge allgemeiner Bildung unter den deutschen Juden vor Mendelssohn*, in *Martin Philippon Festschrift*, 1916.

³ See Dr. M. Kayserling, "Sephardim" and "Judæo-Spanish (Ladino) Language and Literature" in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," and Dr. Gotthard Deutsch's interesting paper, on "Spiritual Progress" in "Sketches of Modern Jewish History," *B'nai B'rith News*, January, 1918.

emphasized this need, in and out of season. It is with their plans and activities that this paper chiefly deals. In considering the subject, however, we should not forget that systems of compulsory public education were introduced even in England and France only within the past few decades, and that our own country and the German Empire, especially Prussia, long were exceptions in these activities, following, in fact, Jewish precedents—the matter of elementary instruction being commonly left for voluntary handling by the various ecclesiastical organizations, and the ignorant parents themselves. It was a new conception of the proper scope of state activity, born of newly developed ideas of rights and duties of citizenship, to recognize with Eugene Lawrence:

When falls the common school system, freedom perishes and reason dies. . . . So long as our public schools flourish, the country is safe.⁴

Emperor Joseph II, in his Jewish toleration edicts of 1781 and thereafter, possibly influenced by Dohm's book in MS., combined with his ameliorating provisions for the Jews, ordinances for their compulsory education in the German vernacular, or Hungarian vernacular, as we shall presently see, his theory being:

What we want is that all our subjects should be able to read, write and sum. For this, learned men are scarcely necessary.

As has been well said by a biographer of his:

to secure that the bulk of the people was sufficiently educated to know their duty as citizens, was his object.⁵

⁴ In "First Century of the Republic," New York, 1876.

⁵ J. Franck Bright, "Joseph II," London, 1905, p. 147; compare p. 67. See now the full text of the Austrian Jewish *Toleranzpatent* of Emperor Joseph II, May 13, 1781-January 2, 1782, with accompanying documents, in Pribram, *Urkunden und Akten zur Geschichte der Juden in Wien*, 1918, vol. i, pp. 440-500, compare pp. 595-687; vol. ii, pp. 40, 251 *et seq.*, 446 *et seq.*, 546 *et seq.*, 548, 549.

His edict was probably the first in the world's history for compulsory elementary education of Jews in the European vernaculars.

It should not be overlooked that Jewish emancipation radically altered the relations of the Jews to their Christian fellow-subjects. While deprived of all participation in the government, exempt from army service, shut out from almost all trades, industries and professions, and forbidden to move about, except under heavy disabilities and special taxes, the fact that the Jews in Europe seldom spoke, read or wrote anything but Judæo-German, Ladino, or Hebrew, was of little importance to the state and their Christian fellow-subjects. They avowedly then constituted an alien nationality, possessing only certain limited privileges. When they became members of the general body corporate, however, and were required to serve in the army, and were recognized as entitled to equal rights of man, with all occupations opening to them, and with the right to vote and hold office, it became obvious that they could not properly perform the duties of citizenship without possessing a common language with their Christian fellows. The fact that among them, too, instruction had been almost entirely under religious direction, caused their ecclesiastical authorities, generally, as we shall see, to regard with jealousy, and commonly with hostility, such important necessary reforms, just as they are opposed in our own day, too, by many wedded to the old régime in Russia, Poland, Roumania, Galicia, and Turkey. But to American students of the history of self-government, the necessity of such reforms, as a corollary to Jewish emancipation, is self-evident.

Attention has often been directed to the fact that the Renaissance period among the Jews did not arrive until the Mendelssohnian era, and that the people who had been pioneers in spreading knowledge, enlightenment, and justice from the earliest times and had given Europe, in large degree, the stimulus that enabled her to penetrate the darkness of the

Middle Ages, were themselves so oppressed and imprisoned in the dark, gloomy ghetto that little of the light of learning could enter into their life from the sixteenth to the latter part of the eighteenth century. No people ever emphasized the importance and needs of education for their young more than did the Jews, who were pioneers in developing systems of comprehensive and compulsory elementary instruction.

As was so ably said by the late Solomon Schechter:*

The school was looked upon as a Mount Sinai, and the day on which the child entered it, as the Feast of Revelation

among the Jews in the Middle Ages. So, also, in his interesting pamphlet "Education among the Jews,"[†] Dr. Henry M. Leipziger devoted a section to the treatment of the recognition by the Jews of ancient times of the importance of the study of foreign languages, but unfortunately, these principles, quoted from our early sacred writings, were rarely carried into practice in the period immediately preceding Jewish emancipation. Under circumstances that made the bare struggle for existence almost impossible, and living under conditions of compulsory segregation and isolation, the Jews of Russia, Poland, Germany, and France rarely were enabled to learn any languages other than their Judæo-German and Hebrew. Conditions were better among the Sephardic Jews, whose ancestors had so often, comparatively recently, written their chief works in their Spanish or Arabic vernaculars, and this was particularly true of districts where Jews constituted a very small fraction of the population among whom they were living, and could not remain so isolated, such as our own country, England, Holland and sections of France and Italy. Among them also, however, as witnesses the Ladino dialect,

* See his study of "The Child in Jewish Literature" in the first series of his "Studies in Judaism," p. 302.

† In "Educational Monographs," New York College for the Training of Teachers, New York, 1890, pp. 206-7. See also Fletcher H. Swift's "Education in Ancient Israel," 1919.

the vernacular was often neglected. Unfortunately, we cannot draw heavily upon the invaluable investigations of Dr. Guedemann on the history of education among the Jews for the century we have under consideration here, for only short articles of his are carried down to this period.⁸ Dr. A. Berliner⁹ points out that already in the seventeenth century, *grammatica* was taught to Jews in Rome by Christian instructors, and rhetoric privately, with resulting controversies among the directors of the Talmud Torah in Rome about the propriety of such profane Latin inroads upon the holy law, and already in 1643, the sovereign authorized a Christian teacher to give instruction in the ghetto in grammar, logic and other sciences, though this did not continue very long, apparently. From Vogelstein and Rieger's work on the Jews in Rome,¹⁰ we learn that Leon Modena of Venice (1571-1648)

⁸ Found in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," article "Education"; and W. Rein, *Encyklopädisches Handbuch der Pädagogik*. More detailed for its consideration of the period here involved, besides the special works for particular districts or schools herein cited, (mostly collated in the excellent bibliography, pp. 169-174, of Jewish history in the New York Public Library), are B. Strassburger's *Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts bei den Israeliten*, Stuttgart, 1885, the article by I. L. Kandel and Louis Grossmann on "Jewish Education" in Monroe's "Cyclopedia of Education," 1912, and M. Joseph's article on "Education, Jewish," in Hasting's "Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics." The United States is outside the scope of the present paper, but I feel bound at least to cite interesting papers by J. H. Greenstone on "Jewish Education in the United States," *The American Jewish Year Book* for 1914-15, pp. 90-127, the late Julia Richman's article "The Jewish Sunday School Movement in the United States" in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xii, p. 563 *et seq.*, and now the elaborate book of Dr. A. M. Dushkin on "Jewish Education in New York City," 1919.

⁹ *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, 1893, vol. ii, p. 68. Prof. Alexander Marx has kindly called my attention in this connection to Steinschneider's *Litteratura Italiano dei giudei*, and to his article in the *Monatsschrift*, 1902 ff.

¹⁰ Vol. ii, p. 300.

tried to encourage the Jews in Venice to study the Italian vernacular systematically, but in vain, and that such instruction for Jewish girls was particularly deprecated by the Jewish authorities, for fear of their becoming familiar with Italian love poems.

In England, conditions may be regarded as fairly typified by those of the London Jewish community. While we learn from Gaster¹¹ that a school was attached to the synagogue as early as 1664, in which the younger children were taught Hebrew subjects six hours daily by Samuel Sasportas, to which an additional private school was added soon afterwards, the first reference to English instruction being imparted is in 1772, and is quite casual, indicating that this was then long established practice. We learn that in that year John Morgan, the English teacher in the congregational school died, and another teacher, William Capes, also evidently a Christian, was appointed to succeed him.¹² In 1803 Isaac Mocatta delivered a famous address to the congregation, condemning in scathing terms the spiritual decay of the community, and the neglect of education, and insisted on educational reforms and the substitution of English for the then still prevailing system of translating only into Spanish.¹³ A. M. Hyamson,¹⁴ records

¹¹ "History of the Ancient Synagogue of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews . . . in England" pp. 16; compare 9, 35, 38-9, 128, 153.

¹² P. 154.

¹³ Pp. 154-6.

¹⁴ "History of the Jews in England," pp. 225, 243, 295, 312, 338. Compare Morris Joseph's article on "Jewish Religious Education" in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. ix, pp. 631-668, which records the fact that in 1735 the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of London established a "writing school" where poor children were to be taught the elements of an English education, £20 annually being voted for its maintenance, p. 641, and that in 1818 the Free School in Bell Lane, London, was opened by the Ashkenazic community and in size at once exceeded the Sephardic institution. Feldman's recent work, "The Jewish Child," London, 1917, contains little of interest on our theme.

that in 1732 a Talmud Torah, predecessor of the Jewish Free School, was established, re-organized in 1817, and in 1821 a society for the support of the congregational charity school was organized.

As regards France, it should be remembered that in the emancipatory period the Sephardic Jews were emancipated in advance of the Ashkenazim, a discrimination which had a partial justification by reason of the earlier adoption of the vernacular and French customs by the former, fitting them more for citizenship.

As regards the great majority of the Jews of Germany, however, down to the beginning of the appearance of Mendelssohn's translation of the Bible in 1778, the vernacular was utterly unfamiliar to them. Moreover, economic distress and persecutions had almost completely stifled all learning among the Jews, and the pittance that could be spared for paying teachers seldom could secure even competent Judæo-German and Hebrew instructors. Moreover, prohibitions against foreign Jews settling in Germany and marrying there, made it impossible for the wandering teacher to remain for more than three years, and his alienage tended to estrange his pupils even more from their fatherland.

Luther's translation of the Bible had given an enormous impetus to elementary instruction in Protestant German states, leading promptly to elementary schooling among the masses, and the same was true among the disciples of Calvin, Tyndale and the readers of the King James Bible. Precisely the same result followed Mendelssohn's translation of the Bible into German among the Jews in German states, and removed forthwith the argument that only unwholesome profane literature could be encountered by the Jew reading German works. But Moses Mendelssohn's services to education in the German language among the Jews were more immediate, for he directly promoted instruction in the vernacular among the Jews, and inspired his disciples and friends to initiate the same. We learn that he was profoundly interested in

Basedow's revolutionary primary educational work, and his plans for the secularization and nationalization of schooling, particularly in the school he founded at Dessau in 1774, called the *Philanthropin*, which was non-sectarian, democratic and modern. Attention has, in fact, been called to the circumstance that Mendelssohn urged the Jews to promote this undertaking, and that Wessely supported it and enlisted the aid of a number of Jewish families for it.¹⁵ Mendelssohn's purposes in this respect are admirably stated by Prof. George F. Moore in a recent discourse on mediæval and modern Judaism in *The American Hebrew*, September 12, 1919, where he said:

That their [the Jews'] intellectual isolation was a greater evil than all the legal disabilities under which the Jews suffered; that from this ghetto of the mind they alone could liberate themselves; and that to accomplish this the barrier of language must first of all be broken down—these were the convictions which inspired Moses Mendelssohn (1729-86) to advocate and initiate a reform in education which should prepare Jewish youth to appreciate and appropriate modern culture. His own German translation of the Pentateuch and other parts of the Bible, undertaken originally for his children, contributed much to the end he had at heart.

¹⁵ Monroe "Cyclopedia of Education," *supra*; Mendelssohn's letter to Campe, published in 1784 in supplement of the September, 1784, issue of the *Sammler*, cited in B. Mandl, *Das Jüdische Schulwesen in Ungarn unter Kaiser Joseph II*, Frankfurt am Main, 1903; Ritter, *Geschichte der jüdischen Reformation*, 1858-1865, and Kayserling, *Moses Mendelssohn*, 1862, p. 306 *et seq.* See also M. Spanier, *Moses Mendelssohn als Pädagoge*, 1898; S. Stern's *Geschichte des Judenthums von Mendelssohn bis auf neuere Zeit*, 1870, p. 161 *et seq.*; also the section concerning Mendelssohn and the period following him in Emanuel Hecht, *Die Geschichte des jüdischen Schulwesens*, in vol. xii of *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, particularly pp. 407-8, 420-4; Ludwig Geiger's posthumously-published article, *Neues über Moses Mendelssohn*, in *ibid.*, February 20, 1920, and works there cited. See also M. Freudenthal's sketch of R. Wolf Dessau, in *Martin Philipppson Festschrift*, 1916, pp. 184, 199 *et seq.*

Even the name "Philanthropin" was promptly adopted by Jews for modern schools of their own in Frankfurt-am-Main, and elsewhere. David Friedländer records that improvement in instruction and recommendation of the German vernacular were Mendelssohn's favorite theme.¹⁶

The Jewish Free School of Berlin deserves particular attention, because apparently the first Jewish school in a German state in which German was taught.¹⁷ Founded chiefly for the poor, it did not exclude the wealthy, and German and French were taught there, as well as Hebrew, mercantile knowledge, arithmetic, bookkeeping, writing, drawing, geography, etc. Several of the teachers were Christians. Its charges were $1\frac{1}{2}$ *thaler* per month per child, to be paid by those able to do so, and we learn that in 1803 only nine out of sixty-five pupils paid even this pittance, 50 *thaler* in the aggregate per month being obtained from the remainder. The school's monthly disbursements, including the salaries of its nine teachers, seem to have been 92 *thaler* in 1803. Throughout, German served as the medium of instruction. It is significant that the school was started at the instance of private individuals, and not through rabbinical authorization. Nicolai, in his description of Berlin in 1786, reports that nearly half the pupils were then taught gratuitously. Daniel Itzig, father of I. D. Itzig and father-in-law of Friedländer, was the chief patron of the school. This school and a number of other Jewish free schools were non-sectarian, and included some Christian pupils, until Prussian law forbade receiving Christian pupils in Jewish schools, a prohibition deeply deprecated in print by its director, Lazarus Bendavid, in 1820.¹⁸

¹⁶ Ritter, *Friedländer*, p. 37.

¹⁷ Ritter, p. 36 *et seq.*; Strassburger, p. 186, and Ludwig Geiger, vol. 1, p. 83 *et seq.*, vol. II, pp. 133-8.

¹⁸ Ritter, *supra*, p. 13. See also an interesting sketch of Bendavid by Jacob Guttman in the *Monatsschrift*, vol. lxi, p. 26 *et seq.*, p. 176 *et seq.*, at p. 50. The same article reprints at

In promoting these educational reforms, David Friedländer, in 1780, published a Jewish reader, *Lesebuch für jüdische Kinder*, for the benefit of the Berlin Jewish Free School, the appearance of which promptly created a sensation,¹⁹ its substantial adoption by Joseph II's government followed, and the obvious effect was to make such reforms general, and not merely local. Subsequent educational activities on Friedländer's part will be considered hereinafter in other connections.

To Mendelssohn's influence and that of disciples of his, like Friedländer, is to be ascribed, in part at least, the emphasis placed by Christian Wilhelm Dohm upon instruction of Jewish children in the vernacular in his epoch-making work, *Ueber die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden*, the first edition of which appeared in 1781. In the course of his affirmative recommendations, Dohm said:

It should be a particularly appropriate duty of an enlightened government to care for the moral education and intellectual development of the Jews, and thus render at least future generations adaptable to milder treatment and enjoyment of all advantages of society. True, with respect to their religious instruction, the state ought not to concern itself further than is necessary to prevent the inculcation of sentiments of unequal obligations towards persons of other creeds. But it can make provision that in addition to the hallowed teachings of his ancestors, the intellect of the Jew shall be illumined by the bright light of reason, and cognizance of nature and its great Creator, and that his heart will be warmed up through principles of order, virtue, love for all men and for the great social system in which he lives; it can arrange that the Jew, too, will be led, early in life, toward ken of the sciences, which will promote his future occupation more or less greatly. This should be done either in Jewish schools, or,—if for the present, teachers and requisite funds are lacking for

pp. 197-204 a memorial to the King of Prussia of 1797 stated to have been prepared by Friedländer, in conjunction with Bendavid and Euchel, in favor of Jewish public schools in South Prussia, in which German and modern subjects were to be taught.

¹⁹ Ritter, p. 46 *et seq.*

them,—they should be permitted to send their children to Christian schools, exclusive of the hours set aside there for religious instruction. And inasmuch as individual Jews may, perhaps, be prevented by prejudice from making use of such authorization, they ought even be required, to send them at particular hours, to school. The department of the government, supervising public instruction,—which ought to be a state function, and not the province of a particular religious sect,—ought to be broadened to include the instruction of Jews, too, and only religious instruction ought to be excepted. Concerning all other branches of knowledge, Jewish schools ought to be made uniform with the best Christian institutions, or the participation of Jewish children in instruction in the latter be arranged for, with provision made, however, that the delicate conscientious scruples of Jewish parents that they will not be weaned from the faith of their fathers, be satisfied.²⁰

Earlier in his work he had recommended that Jews be required to keep their books of account in the vernacular, instead of in Hebrew, in order to promote intercourse with Christian merchants and facilitate determination of law-suits by the ordinary courts.²¹

The wide distribution of Dohm's work and its translation into many foreign languages carried these recommendations into distant states, and greatly influenced their course. Particularly potent was Mirabeau's adoption of them in his summary of Dohm's work, published in 1787, entitled *Sur Moses*

²⁰ Edition of 1783, pp. 128-130. See *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 4, p. 221 *et seq.*, for Jefferson's utterances.

²¹ Pp. 125, 126. Compare Dohm's formulation of these needs in 1818, as published in Lewis Way's memorial, and Way's expression of similar views at the Aix-la-Chapelle Conference, in my paper on "Jewish Rights at the Congresses of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle" in *Publications, supra*, No. 26, pp. 83-88. Also similar views in Wilhelm von Humboldt's memorial of 1809, *ibid.*, p. 95 *et seq.*, (compare pp. 41, 55, 65-66, 67-68, 88), which are entitled to particular weight, as Humboldt had served Prussia in the department of education, and he made other emphatic additional demands for Jewish educational reforms.

Mendelssohn et sur la Réforme politique des Juifs. But their first immediate results were manifested in Joseph II's Jewish toleration edicts in 1781-3, presently to be considered.

Of course, long before Dohm's work was published, Jewish educational reforms and particularly instruction of Jewish children in the vernacular had engaged the attention of Christian governmental officials. In A. Lewin's *Die Vorarbeiten für die badische Judengesetzgebung in den Edikten 1807-9*,²² the effort to provide instruction in the vernacular for the Jews in Baden, beginning as early as 1775, was considered. Goethe's brother-in-law, Schlosser, a government official at Emmendingen, was particularly active in this cause. He ascertained in February, 1775, that the Jews within his district were willing to have their children instructed, but they could not establish special Jewish schools, their poverty being confirmed by him. Accordingly, they desired the Christian teachers to give instruction without having their children attend the regular school,

as the latter seemed to be too dangerous, on account of the bad behavior of the Christian boys.

The teachers wished to devote an hour daily, out of their scanty leisure, to the Jewish children, the small number of the Jews making it impracticable to maintain teachers of their own. Three or four *kreutzer* per hour was to be charged. Such arrangement would be feasible only if the teachers were compensated by the communities 5-6 florins monthly and these would collect funds in turn, as the poor could not pay anything. Schlosser confirmed the comment of one of their representatives, that

it would be preferable for them to be afforded an opportunity to live, rather than to learn.

But the greatest advance in the matter of Jewish instruction in the vernacular, resulted from the edicts of Emperor

²² *Monatsschrift*, vol. lii, p. 66 et seq.

Joseph II. Unfortunately, no comprehensive treatment has as yet been accorded to Joseph II's Jewish toleration edicts, important as they were. It is all the more surprising, therefore, that a valuable detailed account of his Jewish educational reforms in Hungary, already cited, appeared in 1903 from the pen of Bernhard Mandl of Budapest, based on investigations of archives, and that a Jewish historian, Gerson Wolf, should have published a treatise on Joseph II's educational system in Austria, in 1880, with particular reference to its bearings on the Jew,²³ and also a work entitled *Zur Geschichte des Unterrichts der israelitischen Jugend in Wien*.²⁴ Mandl points out that even before Joseph II's toleration edict of October 29, 1781, was issued, the emperor on May 18 of that year urged that Jewish schools be established in Hungary, and by separate edict in Austria, in connection with all synagogues, upon the pattern of his general educational system, but without interfering in the slightest degree with the religion and the divine service of the Jews, and he not merely authorized the attendance of Jews in already existing general schools—which attendance had to be made mandatory, where there were no separate Jewish public schools—but he appropriated portions of the special Jewish taxes for this purpose. On December 16, 1782,

²³ *Das Unterrichtswesen in Oesterreich unter Kaiser Josef II. Nach einer Darstellung von Joseph von Sonnenfels*, Vienna, 1880. Compare the appendix to Wolf's biography of Joseph Wertheimer, and his biography of Joseph II. See also his *Die Juden* in the series *Die Völker Oesterlich-Ungarns*, 1883, pp. 84-86, 88-95; and Bargl's *Geschichte der ungarischen Juden*, 1879, pp. 74-87, 106-8, 143-154. See full citation of Mandl's book in note 15. As to Emperor Joseph II's Jewish edicts, besides the general ones cited in note 5 hereof, see documents dealing particularly with Jewish education under that ruler, in Pribram, *supra*, vol. i, pp. 513-5, 520-1, 523-4, 575-7, 599, 610, 661, 687-8; as to regulations, beginning 1790 under later rulers, see vol. ii, pp. 32-7, 187-193, 280-2, 289-90, 298, 301, 306, 311-13, 319-22, 326, 328, 330, 332-4, 342-346, 348, 351, 353, 358, 375, 378, 392, 407, 411, 427 *et seq.*, 469, 529, 546, 620.

²⁴ P. 9.

the sum of 3,000 florins was set aside for Bohemian Jewish schools from the tax realized from Jewish marriages. The Hungarian superior authorities withheld their consent from a proposition that the Jews should either establish normal schools of their own or, as an alternative, send their children to Christian schools, as being too oppressive, and also opposed a project to seat the Jewish children on separate benches. In a so-called German School for Jewish children, established in 1782 at Mattersdorf, in which the vernacular was taught, the well known Peter Beer became teacher, and Prague and Trieste organized similar schools. On March 31, 1783, Joseph II issued an elaborate Jewish regulation for Hungary, which included important educational provisions, reprinted in Mandl's work, in line with similar regulations regarding the Jews in other provinces of his domain. It provided, among other things in condensed form:

II. In order that the Jewish children shall secure adequate opportunities to learn the languages officially prevailing in the provinces of their residence, that people shall be aided in establishing schools conducted pursuant to the normal school system.

III. In accord with his Imperial Majesty's special graciousness, they are authorized to attend the public national schools already established. . . .

V. It being furthermore recognized that the plan to establish Jewish schools in every province under the supervision of a government director, had encountered difficulties by reason of Jewish prejudice and conservatism, and the recognizedly serious difficulties in raising the funds necessary for the purpose, and accordingly, for the time being, it was merely required that:

(a) A Jewish main school should be established in places where large numbers of Jews reside. The head educational director shall determine how many shall be established and where.

(b) The Rabbis and heads of congregations are required to publish this edict in the synagogue, and to impress upon the Jews the necessary and faithful compliance therewith, particularly as regards the subjects to be taught in the public schools.

(c) Undoubtedly, both in the Christian public schools and in those to be established for the Jewish people, the languages pre-

vailing in the kingdom, German, Hungarian, and the Slavonic tongue, and arithmetic are to be taught, as well as other branches useful for persons of every religious confession.

(d) Chief stress shall be laid upon efforts to omit from all non-religious text-books used in the various public schools, everything relating to religion, so that the text-books be uniform, and this general basic principle shall apply also to Jewish schools, and every non-religious text-book used there, shall be prepared or modified accordingly.

As regards Jewish religious instruction, in order to allay suspicion concerning unwarranted supposed antipathy towards their faith, Jewish congregations are not merely authorized, but even required, to engage suitable teachers for their religious instruction in the Jewish schools, in the same manner that in Christian public schools the catechism is studied on specified days and hours, and such instruction in the Jewish religion and dogmas shall be imparted during the same hours as in Christian schools. They are forbidden, however, to assemble Jewish pupils outside of these hours, and to arrange for such instruction on such occasions at other times.

(e) At the start only Christian teachers shall be employed, but as Jewish teachers shall in time be engaged, it is necessary to instruct them through Christian pedagogues in reading, writing and arithmetic. As special teachers are to be employed for this purpose, Jewish subjects shall not be taught in these training-school courses.

(f) The inspectors of education shall select prospective Jewish teachers, to give instruction, in accord with the established normal school methods, from among those chosen by the Jewish communities.

(g) The Jews shall have absolute liberty, to attend Christian schools, and the funds for establishing Jewish schools shall be raised only if they elect to maintain the latter within a specified period.

(h) In order to inspire greater confidence in the Jews in the public schools, particular care shall be exercised in the selection of Christian teachers, to avoid justification for any Jewish complaint against the schools.

(k) In order to hasten the extinction of the Jewish jargon, it is provided:

1st. In places where Jewish schools shall be established, Jewish teachers are strictly forbidden to give any separate instruction to Jewish children, public or private.

2d. After a term of years fixed at four, all public and private Jewish teachers not holding certificates from Christian or Jewish school officials—certifying that they are qualified to impart instruction according to the normal school method and in the subjects it embraces, as in the curriculum of the Christian schools of the places in question—shall cease instructing Jewish children.

3d. After ten years, Jews not yet twenty-five years of age shall be forbidden to engage in specified industries, unless they hold certificates from Jewish or Christian educational authorities that they attended Jewish or Christian public schools and participated in the instruction there.

4th. In every place where a Jewish school is established, children who have reached their sixth year, must attend school.

5th. Jewish children attending Christian schools shall be treated in Hungary precisely in the same way as is in force in the Viennese schools.

6th. Compulsion in the matter of establishing school funds is sought to be avoided by his Majesty, and the subject of ways and means is to be considered with the appropriate authorities within two months.

7th. In the chief cities, where universities exist, Jews shall not be debarred from the higher schools except in theological courses, in order to make it clear that higher instruction is not to be denied to them, and to encourage them to pursue the same.

School inspectors shall visit and report to the authorities regarding children in Jewish schools, and Jewish children in Christian schools.

In some of Emperor Joseph II's provinces, licenses to marry could, after some time, be issued to Jews only upon their proving their ability to speak the vernacular by production of official school certificates.

Some of these provisions were undoubtedly drastic and others very ill-advised, but the purpose underlying the ordinance was certainly commendable. On the other hand, it is obvious that such interference with what had been theretofore regarded as Jewish communal concern was viewed by the synagogal authorities with grave alarm.

It is also quite clear that they were very unwise in failing to make provision for a necessary transitional stage in the

movement for the substitution of the vernacular for Judaeo-German, thereby cutting off adults, speaking the latter only, from continued approaches to knowledge and from reasonable intercourse with their children, speaking no Judaeo-German, and also jeopardizing educational opportunities of young Jewish children because of poverty and Christian official intolerance. Recognition of these facts induced the Peace Conference in 1919 to handle the similar Polish Jewish educational question differently.

It is interesting to note that when it was proposed, some years ago, to have the Jews erect a monument in honor of Joseph II, Berthold Auerbach, the distinguished Jewish novelist, suggested the inscription from Genesis xlii, 8: "Joseph knew his brethren, but they did not recognize him."^{24a}

In Vienna, even before the Jewish toleration edict of 1781 was issued, the governmental authorities had suggested that the Jewish community there establish a special Jewish school, but the Viennese Jews preferred to have their children attend the general public schools,²⁵ in line with our American system.

From Wolf's *Unterrichtswesen in Oesterreich unter Kaiser Josef II* we learn that the emperor in 1787 directed that a list be prepared of the most important innovations and improvements inaugurated from the beginning of his reign as co-regent of his mother, Maria Theresa, and two of the few deemed worthy to be enumerated were his edicts: (a) that in places where only Catholic or Protestant schools exist, they should be open to members of other confessions; as also (b) the establishment of Jewish normal schools.

Wolf also notes an order in the emperor's own handwriting, dated February 24, 1787, and directed to Count Kollowrat, providing that, in order to secure efficient Jewish teachers

^{24a} For an account of this anecdote see G. Deutsch, "Jew and Gentile," 1920, pp. 77-8.

²⁵ Mandl, *supra*, p. 19; Wolf, *Zur Geschichte*, *supra*.

for Galicia, those passing the official examination coming from Bohemia and Moravia, should be given not merely the usual salary, but 50 to 100 florins traveling expenses apiece, as well as a bonus of 50 florins. He further directed that, inasmuch as children of varying denominations often sat together at school, the prayer before and after instruction, which had at the time a pronounced Catholic tenor, should be dispensed with, so as not to wound the pupils' religious sensibilities. Wolf's booklet is a summary, with his own annotations, of a report prepared by Joseph von Sonnenfels in 1786, for the information of Catherine II regarding Austria's educational system. There is strong reason for believing that Sonnenfels, himself a Moravian Jew by birth, wielded great influence upon the emperor's educational plans, and in fact, upon his administration in general.²⁶

The execution of his plans for modern Jewish schools Joseph II entrusted largely to a trained pedagogue, Herz Homberg, who had been tutor in Mendelssohn's own household. He returned to Austria, where he was born, armed with strong letters of recommendation from Mendelssohn and others, was appointed superintendent of all the German Jewish schools in Galicia in 1784, and wrote considerably in aid of these edu-

²⁶ The biography of this remarkable man appearing in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," is quite inadequate, and does not even cite the much fuller sketch printed in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. He was a distinguished jurist, served as professor of political science at the University of Vienna, became president of the Vienna Academy of Sciences, and was dramatic and general government censor for years. His brother Franz was also a notable figure of the time. See article concerning Joseph von Sonnenfels, published on the one hundredth anniversary of his death in 1917, in *Oesterreichische Rundschau*, vol. II, p. 72 et seq., by Dr. Max Pirker. A number of references to both brothers may be found in the index to Pribram, *supra*. Lorenzo da Ponte ("The Jewish Encyclopedia," s. v.) was also a Jew by birth.

cational reforms expositions of his purposes and text-books, besides performing his administrative duties.²⁷

Particularly important were the efforts of Naphtali Hartwig Wessely to secure Jewish approval and observance of Emperor Joseph II's educational decrees. A distinguished Hebrew scholar and associate of Mendelssohn in the latter's Bible translation, he became the leading advocate among the Jews of these educational reforms, and it is significant that he wrote in Hebrew his appeals for instruction of Jews in the vernacular so as to reach those he wanted to win over, though his leading work on this subject was published also in German and Italian translations, prepared by David Friedländer and Elia Morpurgo, respectively, as also in French.²⁸ Learning of the concealed antagonism and distrust of the Jews of the empire towards Joseph's educational requirements, Wessely concluded that it was of the greatest importance to have such precepts confirmed by a disinterested fellow-Jew, from the point of view of Jewish precedents. His Hebrew work, bearing in the French translation the descriptive title, *Instructions salutaires adressées aux communautés juives de l'empire de Joseph II*, and in the German, *Worte der Wahrheit und des Friedens*, was accordingly issued in 1782, and detailed descriptions of it are furnished in Meisel's work and in Carmoly's *Wessely et ses Écrits*, 1829. Immediately, Wessely became the target, aimed at by high and low, who dared not directly inculcate disobedience to the emperor's edict, but

²⁷ See article on him in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," and works there cited; Strassburger, *supra*; Ritter, *supra*; Kayserling, *Mendelssohn*; article by Balaban, *Herz Homberg in Galizien*, in *Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, 1916, p. 189; G. Wolf, in *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, 1887, p. 231, on *Zur Geschichte des jüdischen Schulwesens in Galizien*, and Dr. G. Deutsch, in series cited above.

²⁸ Wolf A. Meisel's biography of Wessely, Breslau, 1841, contains the fullest account extant of his activities, which are here relevant. See a more critical view of him by L. Lewin, in *Jahrbuch der jüd.-lit. Gesellschaft*, vol. xii, pp. 165-197 (1918).

employed this subterfuge to assail the tendencies involved. Among his most bitter opponents were Ezekiel Landau, chief rabbi of Prague, Rabbi David Tebel of Lissa, and the chief rabbi of Berlin, and Wessely's excommunication and expulsion from Berlin were imminent, when Mendelssohn, Friedländer, and others intervened, and the governmental authorities commenced an inquiry into the matter.²⁹ In the attacks in question Wessely was represented as a blasphemer and renegade, and an enemy of his people, and a series of Hebrew publications in his own defence followed.

The edict of Joseph II affected Lombardy, too, and in endeavoring to obey it, distinguished Italian Jews, with the approval of the governor, Count Zinzendorf, communicated with Mendelssohn in their quest for suitable text-books. He forwarded to them, with warm commendations, Wessely's "Words of Peace and Truth," and the congregation at Trieste thanked Wessely enthusiastically for his labors, and proceeded to establish a Jewish school pursuant to his plans. The correspondence that ensued, largely reproduced by Meisel, throws interesting light on the conditions of the day, and indicates that Nathan Arnstein of Vienna, subsequently Baron von Arnstein, was active in distributing Wessely's work for propaganda purposes. Many rabbis in various cities of Italy proceeded to approve Wessely's position unqualifiedly, including the rabbis of Trieste, Ferrara, Venice, Ancona, and Reggio.

Joseph II's edict and the Wessely controversy at once gave great impetus to the establishment of modern German Jewish schools, outside of Austria-Hungary as well, and still more to

²⁹ Compare a rare MS. work in the library of Columbia University on this controversy by A. W. Halevy of The Hague; also the biography of Wessely in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," and the works there cited. See also Dr. C. Duschinsky's "The Rabbinate of the Great Synagogue, London," in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, N. S., vol. ix, pp. 373-8, 386; vol. xi, p. 232.

attendance of Jews at the public schools. Particularly important were the Wilhelm School of Breslau, founded in 1791, the *Herzogliche Franzschule* of Dessau, started in 1799, the *Jacobson Schule* of Seesen in the Harz, founded in 1801 by Israel Jacobson, and the school at Cassel under the Westphalian Jewish Consistory, of which Jacobson was president, founded in 1808; the Jewish *Philanthropin* of Frankfurt-on-the-Main, started in 1804, and the *Samsonische Freischule* of Wolfenbüttel, started in 1807.³⁰

Of these schools, the Jacobson schools were the most important historically, and the *Philanthropin* the most influential. Before considering more fully the schools associated with the distinguished name of Israel Jacobson, it will be well, however, to note the fact that the Prussian royal commission on Jewish amelioratory measures, in its important report of 1789, strongly emphasized the necessity of the acquisition of the German vernacular by the Jews of Prussia.³¹ It recommended, among the principal means for improving the moral and civil conditions of the Jews, the establishment of good schools, with instruction in the language of the country, and a native teaching staff, under the supervision of the Department of Schools, the cost to be borne by subsisting

³⁰ See Strassburger, *supra*; Fürst, *Die jüdische Realschulen Deutschland's*, *supra*; L. Horwitz, *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des königl. westfälischen Konsistoriums der Israeliten zu Kassel, 1807-1815*, in *Monatsschrift*, 1909; F. Lazarus, *Das königl. westfälische Konsistorium der Israeliten*, 1914; centenary history of the *Jüdische Philanthropin* of Frankfurt-am-Main, 1904; and earlier sketches by its principal, Dr. Baerwald; Holzmann, *Geschichte der jüdischen Lehreranstalt Berlin*, 1884; Ismar Freund, *Die Rechtstellung der Juden im preussischen Volksschulrecht*, 1908; F. Cohn, *Die Entwicklung des jüdischen Unterrichtswesens von Moses Mendelssohn bis auf die Gegenwart*, 1880; Reinhold Lewin, *Die Judengesetzgebung Friedrich Wilhelm II* in *Monatsschrift*, 1913; Israel Cohen, "Jewish Life in Modern Times."

³¹ *Monatsschrift*, 1913, p. 217.

endowments, or a moderate school tax; where few Jews live they shall be permitted to send their children to the Christian schools, except that they were to be excused from the religious instruction.

Entirely too little attention has been accorded to that remarkably broad-minded and self-sacrificing philanthropist, Israel Jacobson, who exerted great influence upon the history of his coreligionists in both Germany and France, and after starting the Jewish school at Seesen, above mentioned, became president of the Jewish Consistory of Westphalia in 1808, following his attendance as a member of the Napoleonic Sanhedrin, and whom Goethe mockingly named "the Jewish Messiah."²²

Born at Halberstadt in 1768, he had originally intended to study for the rabbinate, but he devoted himself to finance instead, and soon became privy counsellor, and accumulated a fortune, which enabled him to devote 26,000 *thaler* per year to philanthropic ends, and reserve only 4,000 for himself and his family. Strongly approving of non-sectarian instructions, he established the school at Seesen in the Harz mountains in 1801, at the cost of 100,000 *thaler*, at which 40 Jewish and 20 Christian children were to be educated together, receiving free board and tuition, and the school soon became one of the foremost in Europe, attracting children of all denominations from near and far, and presenting a model curriculum for modern needs. It has been contended that an appeal to Napoleon, which he published in 1806 on behalf of his persecuted co-religionists, was influential in inducing that monarch to convene the Sanhedrin. He also submitted a memorial to Napoleon, prepared by the director of his school, Schott, on

²² See his biography in *Monatsschrift*, 1914, pp. 85-96, and the works there cited, and in Dr. E. Schreiber's "Reformed Judaism and its Pioneers," pp. 45-59; and in David Philipson's "The Reform Movement in Judaism," pp. 17-26; also reference in Alfred Stern, *Abhandlungen und Aktenstücke*, p. 251.

the importance of improved education among the Jews. The school he founded at Seesen in 1801, was originally intended as a trade and agricultural school, and his brother-in-law, Isaac Herz Samson, founded the school at Wolfenbüttel, at almost the same time. When Jerome Bonaparte became king of Westphalia, Jacobson accepted the presidency of the Jewish consistory for that state, and selected some of the ablest men available for the model Jewish school at Cassel that was founded in 1808; among them were David Fränkel, editor of the famous Jewish periodical *Sulamith*, and Jeremias Heine-mann and Menachim Steinhardt.²³ Needless to say, it was conducted so as to distinguish the Jewish pupils only in religious matters from the best educated of their Christian fellows. Jerome appointed Jacobson royal banker, and knighted him, and his public activities continued after he had removed to Berlin, following Napoleon's downfall. He was mainly instrumental in securing the abolition of the hateful Jewish head-tax.

Hand in hand with his work for Jewish emancipation, David Friedländer and his associates also worked for improved education in the German vernacular among the Jews, and the zeal and strenuousness of these efforts won, in large measure, the support of Prince Hardenberg, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and other German statesmen, for the enactment of Jewish emancipatory measures. Almost every one of Friedländer's writings contains an exposition of the need and importance of such reforms, and we will have occasion to quote some of his views presently, in dealing with Poland. As was already indicated above, Prince Hardenberg and Wilhelm von Humboldt were very emphatic as to the need of Jewish adoption of the German vernacular and improved educational methods as indispensable accompaniments of Jewish emancipation.

²³ See biographies of them in F. Lazarus, *supra*.

Hardenberg had in mind the necessity of such educational and other reforms as a condition of Jewish emancipation in an official report as far back as 1797, which he prepared as administrator of the principalities of Ansbach and Bayreuth, dealing particularly with the City of Fürth.³⁴ In his very

³⁴ This report may be conveniently consulted in Christian Meyer, *Preussen's innere Politik in Ansbach und Bayreuth in den Jahren 1792-7*, Berlin, 1904, pp. 59, 105 and 189, though Dr. A. Eckstein's interesting booklet, *Der Kampf der Juden um ihre Emanzipation in Bayern*, Fürth, 1905, p. 25, to which I owe the reference, cites instead the reprint of the report in *Hohenzollerische Forschungen*, vol. i, pp. 40-1, 74. Though having only a very general bearing on the subject here under consideration, these references may be profitably reproduced in this footnote, as everything that formed that great statesman's views on Jewish emancipation is of importance, and because it shows his interest in the subject long before he came under the influence of that great fighter for Jewish emancipation, Wilhelm von Humboldt. He wrote: "There are about 6,000 Jews in the Franconian principalities, including Fürth, and their privileges are being investigated at present, in order that the amelioration of their civil condition, no less than measures to prevent their becoming detrimental to the rest of the inhabitants, may be taken into account, upon their re-enactment." (§ 23.) "The Jews who, as I have already mentioned above, are particularly numerous in Fürth, have several synagogues, and in Fürth, a district rabbi and a kind of Jewish university. In connection with the pending examination and confirmation of their privileges, it will become necessary to adjust matters so that their ecclesiastical organization will be arranged properly to accord with the well-being of the whole commonwealth." (§ 109.) Again at page 189: "The Jewish community is subjected to heavy assessments which flow to the chief-domain-exchequer, formerly amounting in Ansbach to about 7,000 florins and in Bayreuth to 2,600 florins, as also to levies under all sorts of pretexts, such as profits-tax, new year's money, horse-money, protection levy. As long as the subject was poor, the Jew was rich. Now, however, the Jew is becoming impoverished. Their general financial system is now being investigated, as well as their entire existence, in accordance with which a system of taxation must be devised

able study of Jewish emancipation in Prussia, Alfred Stern³⁵ quotes from Prince Hardenberg's monumental report of 1807 on "the Reorganization of the Prussian State," the following interesting passage regarding Jewish educational reform:

The only effective measures to improve them [the Jews] according to his views, are suitable [*zweckmässig*] instruction for their children and through their participation in industrial freedom and duties of citizens. He reminded the king that Napoleon, by convening the Great Sanhedrin, was seeking to win the Jews

for them, which shall include also those in medium circumstances. Meantime those in Ansbach have deteriorated most, and this oppressed Jewish community has been first of all relieved of the payment of 1,500 florins, horse tax, since the king's accession. According to the law, in fact, Jews are not supposed to reside in the six chief cities of Bayreuth, and they are without letters of protection there. Nevertheless, Jews are found in Bayreuth and their presence there has often been connived at for a long time." (§ 220.) More recently A. Eckstein contributed a very interesting article to the *Martin Philippsen Festschrift* entitled *Hardenberg und die Frage der Juden-Emanzipation in den preussisch-frankischen Fürstentümern*, dealing with his pro-Jewish activities for this district five years earlier. In a report on methods of Jewish amelioration prepared by his assistant, Count Soden, the necessity of improving Jewish educational methods was expressly emphasized, in order to bring Jews nearer to their Christian fellow-citizens, instead of living apart from them in isolation, and to minimize differences in customs and views. Eckstein mentions the fact that Prince Hardenberg once declared that he could approve of no law for the Jews which would contain more than four words; "equal obligations, equal rights."

³⁵ *Abhandlungen und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der preussischen Reformzeit 1807-1815*, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 227 to 262, at 240, citing Ranke, *Hardenberg und die Geschichte des preussischen Staates 1793-1813*, (collected works, vol. xlviii, pp. 405, 426). Compare Schuchman's views, pp. 248-9. Stern adds Hardenberg's own final observations, before the new law was submitted to the king himself on March 6, 1812, pp. 258-261, and radically weakened by royalty itself in the eleventh hour, as noted by me in *Publications, supra*, No. 26, pp. 42-3. In the above-cited work, Alfred Stern, pp. 242-5, summarized an important manuscript report on drafts

over to his own cause, and laid down the general principle that the state ought to exercise tolerance and not persecute any religion, as long as it does not contravene civil order. About the same time Sack, another Prussian official, recommended that, except for Jewish religious instruction, separate Jewish schools ought not to exist, but Jewish children should participate in public school instruction, in common with Christian children.

An able and comprehensive account of the inauguration of modern educational methods among the Jews in Posen, after

of Jewish amelioratory legislation, prepared by Friedländer at Prince Hardenberg's request.

But with Wilhelm von Humboldt's retirement to private life and the king of Prussia's affirmative instructions of 1817 to Prince Hardenberg to cease espousal of the Jewish cause as against Frankfurt, pp. 79-80, Prince Hardenberg's Jewish emancipatory ardour, like his other liberal views, somewhat abated, and he sometimes ignored his former strongly pro-Jewish utterances, collated in my former paper. Nay more, he even permitted a treaty between Russia and Prussia to be negotiated and proclaimed, on December 7 (19), 1818, which expressly excepted Jews from the commercial benefits and rights thereby granted. See F. F. de Martens, *Recueil des traités conclus par la Russie*, vol. vii, pp. 328-355, at 339. It distinguished the case of Germany from that of England and the United States, in principle, with respect to authorization by treaty, of discriminations against foreign Jews. The treaty clause reads: *Les sujets professant le culte de Moïse ne participeront pas aux mêmes droits et avantages. Ils seront traités parfaitement à l'égal des Juifs étrangers dans les états des puissances contractantes*. But in an important paper by S. Silberstein in the *Martin Philippson Festschrift on Die Stellung Preussens und Mecklenburgs zum Artikel XVI der deutschen Bundesakten* he proves, chiefly through unpublished archives, that Prussia under Hardenberg's direction, and Austria under Metternich's, labored much more actively on behalf of Jewish emancipation for a number of years after the Congress of Vienna than has heretofore been recognized, and this despite the reactionary character of the times and the supposed Christianizing tendencies of the Holy Alliance. The trouble was, however, that uniform measures in all the German states were aimed at, and compromises, and even retrogression, often resulted.

the annexation of that province by Prussia, was contributed by Dr. A. Warschauer to the *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland in 1889*, vol. iii, p. 29-63.

Warschauer concedes that at first Prussia's acquisition of this territory from Poland in 1772 actually retarded Jewish education. It should be remembered that the Polish annexations enormously increased Prussia's Jewish population and complicated her educational problems greatly, which remark applies to Russia as well, because of her simultaneous thefts of such foreign territory. The restrictive Prussian laws prevented securing teachers who were not wanderers and unmarried, and they were not allowed to remain in one place over three years. Presently concessions were made to the larger communities to retain one or two teachers permanently, as also married teachers for the girls, there having been strong antagonism among the Jews to having their girls taught by unmarried male teachers. In 1791, an able report was made by von Broskovius, a government official, upon whom Dohm's work had made a deep impression, and who, instead of carrying out his commission to suggest means of decreasing the Jewish population of West Prussia, addressed himself to methods of improving their condition, and thereby rendering them useful citizens. He recommended that a teacher should be employed for each 150 inhabitants, and that the children be taught reading and writing the German vernacular. Minister von Schrötter approved of these recommendations. The additions to Prussia resulting from the second and third partitions of Poland in 1793 and 1795, with their large Jewish populations, convinced the Berlin ministry that the problem of Jewish education could no longer safely be neglected in practice. Minister von Voss reported officially that this nation is undoubtedly capable of improvement and its members may be turned into useful citizens;

and he admitted that the Jews of South Prussia were better educated than the citizens of the small cities and the farmers

in the country. Compulsory schooling and fixed school organizations were, however, almost unknown among them, and it was assumed that Jewish participation in the instruction being accorded to Christian children was barred. Practically all the petty officials reported, however, that establishment of good schools and improvement in educational conditions were the chief panacea. It was recommended that teachers must be employed by the Jewish communities who were fully conversant with German, and that marriage licenses be issued only if groom and bride were both able to read and write German. The state should contribute towards the establishment and maintenance of German Jewish schools, especially out of the Jewish tax moneys. A compulsory school tax was recommended, and arrangements were to be authorized for sending Jewish children in small places to schools in neighboring larger ones. Such were the underlying principles of the General Regulations for South and New East Prussia of April 17, 1797. Teachers were to be appointed and paid by the State, and German and Polish were to be mandatory subjects. Till Jewish schools with adequate teachers could be established, Jewish children in the small places should be taught by Christian teachers a few hours weekly, or in association with the Christian children. Jewish religious text-books were required to be in German. In the cities where Jewish public schools were maintained, attendance was next made compulsory, and only in the country and the cities where there were none, were private teachers to be authorized. Exemption from instruction in the case of girls was at first permitted.

In 1803, when the Christian school system of Posen was organized, the magistrates of Posen advised that the Jews should send their children to the public schools and contribute to their maintenance, as they already did in the small cities. Accordingly, in 1805, it was resolved that Jewish children, desiring to attend the public schools, might do so, if decently clad, and the school tax paid, and state subsidizing of separate

Jewish schools was forbidden. General attendance at the regular public schools had, in fact, made State subsidies for special schools unnecessary in practice—an evolution which may well be recognized as inevitable for the Jews of Poland herself before long under the Polish treaty of 1919 making instruction in Polish compulsory, even in Jewish schools maintained for some time to come at government expense. Between 1816 and 1833, the general Prussian law was applied to Jewish elementary schools, and the principle of compulsory instruction for Jewish children adopted, as well as the abolition of unlicensed Jewish private teachers. Thus was inaugurated the principle that no one should be debarred from the public schools on account of religious faith, but attendance at religious instruction of different faiths than one's own, might not be compelled, and instruction should be compulsory from the fifth year up.

In Bavaria, where there were few large aggregations of Jews, the public schools were opened to them as early as 1802, and two years later they were required to send their children to public schools, (except to the religious instruction), if no separate Jewish schools existed in the section. Even the Jewish schools were subject to state supervision except as regards religious instruction, and unauthorized schools and unlicensed private tutors were prohibited.³⁶

In France, the Constitution of 1791 decreed a comprehensive system of compulsory elementary public instruction, but the same does not appear to have been carried into practice till 1882. Among the Jews, as among other denominations, elementary instruction remained a religious concern,

³⁶ This subject is interestingly treated in Higby, "The Religious Policy of the Bavarian Government during the Napoleonic Period," *Columbia University Studies in History*, etc., 1919, pp. 548-9, where reference is also made to the attention aroused in 1802 by the circumstances that a Jewish child in the public schools was awarded first prize in religious and moral philosophy.

but the principles of the Napoleonic Sanhedrin had induced the Jews to espouse the French vernacular in their educational work. A detailed "History of the Communal and Consistorial Schools of Paris, 1809-1883," was published by Leon Kahn in Paris, in 1884, which is fairly typical of France, and shows that from the institution of the consistories the Jews of France gave earnest and continuous attention to elementary instruction in the French vernacular. In 1812, the Paris Consistory decided to establish a free Jewish elementary school in Paris, at the expense of the Jewish taxpayers. In 1821, there were 12 French Jewish primary schools, situated at Metz, Paris, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Nancy, Thiouville, Sarreguemines, Strasbourg, Haguenau, Bergheim, Sierentz and Ribauvillers. The Paris School had finally been opened in 1819. The subjects to be taught were religious instruction, the French language, reading, writing, geography, grammar, arithmetic, history and other branches. We are told that it was promptly decided that

no foreign language might be taught or spoken within the school, and that the inaccuracy of the language spoken by our co-religionists at that time sufficiently justified such order. Infraction of this prohibition might involve the dismissal of the principal.

The same prohibition against employment in the synagogue of any language except French or Hebrew was adopted December 17, 1831. In Belgium there was a similar line of development.

In Holland, through a system of compulsory governmental licensing of all Jewish teachers, public or private, secular or sectarian, as early as 1817, Jewish instruction in the language of the country seems to have been assured, supplemented by governmental supervision of education.

As regards Russia, we learn that already in 1800 Dr. Frank, a Jewish physician who had studied in Berlin, recommended to the government that Jewish schools be organized, to accord

instruction in Russian, German and Hebrew,³⁷ and Nathan Notkin in the same year made a similar recommendation.

In 1811, Emperor Alexander I opened to the Jews all the Russian schools, such as they were, and is said to have stated that if his dominions produced a single Mendelssohn, all his labors for the Jews would be fully repaid. Obviously, Mendelssohnian influences in favor of the vernacular were potent among the Maskilim and the liberal elements in Russia and also Poland. We further learn that Moritz, one of the associates of Lewis Way, and a worker in the employ of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, himself a native of Galicia, in 1817 strongly recommended to Prince Galitzin, Alexander I's minister of Public Worship and Education, the enactment of a law similar to Joseph II's, for compulsory schooling in Russian and Polish among the Jews, but naturally such recommendations, coming from this source, were regarded by the Jews of the Czar's dominions as mere Christianizing expedients.

Many of the Maskilim adopted able plans for educating the Jews of Russia during Alexander's reign. Conspicuous was

³⁷ See J. Hessen, *Die russische Regierung und die westeuropäischen Juden*, in *Monatsschrift*, 1913, p. 259. See further as to Russia and Poland: Ralsin "The Haskalah Movement"; David Philipson's "Max Lienthal"; M. J. Kohler, *supra*; Strassburger, *supra*; Meisl, *Ein Memorandum der russischen Regierung*, in *Monatsschrift*, 1910. Since this article was written, Dubnow's valuable "History of the Jews in Russia and Poland," vol. ii, appeared and a very interesting series of articles entitled "Chapters on the Cultural History of the Jews in Russia" by Peter Wiernik, was begun in *The Jewish Forum*, August, 1918. Prof. G. Deutsch's series "Sketches of Modern Jewish History" in the *B'nai B'rith News* continue to afford valuable new material, here germane. See *Monatsschrift*, vol. i, p. 550, for Belgium. See also Dr. J. Meisl's very recent work, *Haskalah: Geschichte der Aufklärungsbewegung unter den Juden in Russland*, Berlin, 1919.

Josef Perl,⁸⁸ who opened a school at Tarnopol, then in Russia, in 1813, at which instruction was accorded in Hebrew, German and French, and in 1816, he erected a special building for it, at his own expense; Czar Alexander I awarded him a gold medal in 1816, in appreciation of his services, as did also Emperor Francis I in 1821, Tarnopol having meantime become part of Galicia. In 1820, Perl had been called to Lemberg to aid the government in perfecting a Jewish educational system, and we learn from Raisin, Meisl and Wiernik that numerous other schools were established in Russia, patterned after Perl's undertaking. Isaac Beer Levinsohn's plan, a few years later, had, as we shall presently see, a similar object in view.

In 1808, the Russian Government had decreed that after 1812, the Rabbis must be conversant with either Russian, German or Polish, but the law does not appear ever to have been enforced. Unfortunately, as was elsewhere noted by me,^{88a} in the latter part of Alexander I's reign, the era of governmental efforts to stifle Jewish education began, which continued almost unbroken till our own day.

Particularly noteworthy was the report on proposed measures for improving the condition of the Jews in Poland, prepared at governmental request by David Friedländer in 1816, and published by him in 1819, which, of course, contained important educational recommendations. It shows, incidentally, how greatly Europeanization had already progressed among the Jews in Germany. Friedländer's work bore the title *Ueber die Verbesserung der Israeliten im Königreich Pohlen* and he pointed out that nearly all the Polish Jews, separated by the Judæo-German language peculiar to them, without participation in general public education, enjoyed no friendly intercourse with their fellows of other faiths, and that social and

⁸⁸ See, besides "The Jewish Encyclopedia," Meisl, and Raisin, *supra*, M. Ehrentheil *Jüdische Characterbilder*, Pesth, 1867, pp. 83-94.

^{88a} *Publications, supra*, No. 26.

neighborly relations were not possible, with a continuance of demarcations in language, habits and clothing. He urged first of all, the introduction of the vernacular, quoting Holy Writ as saying that

Life and death are in the power of speech. It is not merely the most important organ, connecting men with men, but also the only one that leads to intellectual development and clarification of conceptions, and ennobling of feelings.³⁹

One of the chief pioneers and leaders in the struggle for secular instruction among the Jews of Russia, was Isaac Beer Levinsohn (1788-1860), commonly described as the first of the *Maskilim*.⁴⁰ Having himself enjoyed the unique advantage of learning Russian thoroughly as a child, and in infancy, having become a remarkable Hebrew scholar, he became intimate with Josef Perl, and came under the Mendelssohnian influence. After establishing a reputation as a Jewish scholar and author, he wrote, in 1823, his famous work *Te-uddah be-Yisrael* (Instruction in Israel), but was unable to effect its publication till 1828, and in it he attempted to solve the chief troubles of the Jews in Russia. One of his main cures was the inculcation of the principle that

the Jewish religion does not condemn the knowledge of foreign languages and literature, especially of the language of the country, such knowledge being required both in the personal interest of the individual Jew and in the common interest of the Jewish people, [and that the] study of secular science is not attended by any danger for Judaism, men of the type of Maimonides having remained loyal Jews in spite of their extensive general culture.

³⁹ See, besides other works herein cited, biography of Friedländer in Dr. E. Schreiber's "Reformed Judaism and its Pioneers," pp. 19-44, and works there cited; see also my "Jewish Rights at the Congresses of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle," *supra*, references to Friedländer in the index.

⁴⁰ See "The Jewish Encyclopedia," biography by Herman Rosenthal, and Raisin, *supra*, pp. 204-213; see also Dubnow, Wiernik, Meisl, *supra*.

One of the chief concrete recommendations of his book, was to open elementary schools for the teaching of Hebrew, and the tenets of the Jewish religion, as well as of Russian and arithmetic, and he submitted to the heir-apparent, Constantin Pavlovich, in 1823, a plan for establishing such Jewish schools. In 1827, a year before the work was published, he had handed the manuscript to the Russian government, which viewed it with much favor, and presented to him a thousand rubles, as evidence of its appreciation thereof. Prince Lieven, Minister of Public Education, in the same year addressed to him 34 questions regarding the Jews, including the following:

Is it true that the Talmud forbids the Jews the study of foreign languages and science, as well as the pursuit of agricultural occupations? Do the Jews possess schools or learned books? How do the Jewish masses regard their schools? Can the condition of the Jews be improved, and if so, by what means? How can a Jew be admitted into Christian society and be accorded full civic rights, when he keeps himself aloof from the Christians, and takes no interest in the welfare of the country where he resides?

Levinsohn reported that these questions were answered in his *Te-uddah* and other designated works, and he concisely answered the questions anew. He not merely tried to spread his views through his publications, but sought government aid in carrying them out several times in subsequent years. Naturally, he aroused bitter opposition and hostility among his orthodox co-religionists, and the government, with a change of policy towards the Jews, lost all interest in him. He spent the closing years of his life, sick, impoverished and shunned like an outcast. His tombstone contains an epitaph which he himself prepared, containing the lines:

I fought with God's foes, not with a sword, but with the Word;
I fought for Truth and Justice among the nations.

Several other *Maskilim* labored earnestly and zealously for secular education among the Jews of Russia, particularly Mordecai Günzburg (1795-1846), another disciple of Mendels-

sohn, Leon Mandelstamm, Matthias Strashun, Solomon Sal-kind, Bezalel Stern, Hirsch Hurwitz, C. Sack, Abraham Lebensohn and Abraham Mapu, the novelist.⁴¹ Mordecai Günzburg laid that family's foundation of a campaign for education which has been continued through generations, as we shall presently notice.

Max Lilienthal was selected in 1839 to carry out comprehensive schemes for educational reform under the ministry of Uvarow among the Jews of Russia, and his plans, outlined in David Philipson's biography of him, and Raisin's, Hessen's, Strassburger's, Dubnow's, and Meisl's above cited works, would have revolutionized conditions among the Jews there, but they collapsed when the view was accepted, correctly or not, that apparently the government thus sought merely to conceal proselytizing projects. The impetus which his activities and those of others hereinbefore referred to, gave to educational reforms, led to the conducting of sporadic schools for Jewish children in Russia, in which the Russian and the Polish vernaculars were taught.

Max Lilienthal had formulated a comprehensive, able, and truly statesman-like plan for improving the condition of the Jews in Russia dominions by educational methods. Unfortunately he encountered not merely much opposition from various Russian officials, who just then rendered even more serious Jewish civil disabilities, but also from many resident Jews, who suspected proselytizing motives, and were opposed to all innovations, educational and otherwise, as in the cases of Wessely and Levinsohn, already considered, and jealous of "foreign influences." Despite various hypotheses to the effect that he left Russia because of proselytizing propaganda, he

⁴¹ See sketches of all of these in the works cited in the last note. In Mr. Wiernik's above mentioned series, the account of the educational work of Leon Mandelstamm is particularly interesting and valuable, including particulars regarding the text-books prepared by him for teaching Russian to the Jews, 1845-1857.

does not himself appear ever to have written so, though he admitted profound disappointment when he abandoned his work there in 1845. The fate of his undertaking might conceivably have been different, had Sir Moses Montefiore and Isaac Adolphe Crémieux, with their great influence, accepted the invitations he caused the Russian Government to send them through Count Uvarow, Russia's minister of education, to serve on the important Russian Jewish official educational commission of 1843; they would both have strongly supported his project. Unfortunately, Crémieux declined to come, unless the Czar personally sent him an invitation to serve, which never came, and Montefiore hesitated and delayed so long, pending advices from the Russian Ambassador at London, and by reason of suspicions as to the underlying motives, that the commission's work was not merely completed, but Lilienthal had left Russia, before Montefiore took his important and useful trip thither in 1846. It is possible that Lilienthal's frankness in assailing the defective educational methods in existence among Russia Jews, in his letter of invitation, countersigned by Uvarow, may have caused the conservatively-inclined Montefiore to be particularly cautious about committing himself without fuller inquiry.

Meanwhile, new and severe restrictive regulations against her Jews were adopted by Russia, in consequence of further aspersions by her bureaucracy upon them, and Montefiore undertook his aforesaid famous mission to Russia, in 1846, provided with official British governmental support. The Czar Nicholas himself, and distinguished Russian statesmen, such as the premier Nesselrode, Uvarow, and Kisselev, minister of domains, expressed deep interest in his plans, and he secured strong support from Lord Bloomfield, the British ambassador, and, of course, detailed information from all elements among the Jews in Russia and Poland in the course of his extensive travels in those dominions. Unfortunately, the statesman-like and very able and still serviceable reports

which he prepared at the close of the year 1846, and which the British Foreign Office transmitted to the Russian Government, intentionally were withheld from publication until after Montefiore's death, and are still scarcely known, though they evidently influenced the Russian Government to improve conditions somewhat at the time. Lucien Wolf does not appear to have had them before him, when he wrote his standard biography of Montefiore, and in any event, he devotes much more attention therein to the hardships Montefiore underwent, and to assaults on Russia, than to their statesman-like recommendations. There were three reports prepared, at the request of the Russian Government, by Montefiore, which Dr. L. Loewe, in his edition of the "Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore," publishes in full, one addressed to Count Uvarow, dealing with educational conditions (vol. i., pp. 374-9), and two to Count Kisselev, on Jewish disabilities in Russia and Poland respectively, and they contained wise recommendations for Jewish amelioration through the granting of "equal rights" (*ibid.*, pp. 360-373, 380-4). Sir Moses' diary gives considerable data of personal observations, which underlay the reports. Conditions necessarily made Montefiore an apologist for his Russian Jewish brethren in his reports, and the Jewish schools which he praised particularly were probably not typical, but had been installed or improved in the Lilienthal régime. Nevertheless, the following passages from his educational report are of great importance:

It must be to your Excellency a source of the highest gratification to hear that His Imperial Majesty's Hebrew subjects are far from depreciating the advantages which the human mind in general derives from education. Wherever and whenever I had an opportunity of addressing them on that subject, they assured me that they were ever ready most zealously to assist in the promotion of their mental and social improvement, and they joyfully hailed every opportunity presented to them of enriching their minds by pure and wholesome knowledge . . . I therefore had no difficulty whatever in persuading them of the good intentions which His Majesty's Government entertained with respect to the

organization of schools for their benefit. They overwhelmed me with quotations from the sacred writings, tending to show that with the Israelite it is an imperative duty to give the best effect to such benevolence I particularly inquired the reason why the Talmud Tora schools had no professors appointed for the Russian language and other branches of secular science and literature, this deficiency having struck me the more after having heard such powerful arguments in favour of studying these, showing that a knowledge of worldly science and literature, when combined with that of Hebrew and the observance of pure religion, was well adapted to improve the Israelite. The answer to my inquiry was, that they had not the means to procure such professors; that to have a master of that description would have given them the highest pleasure, but that having themselves to contend with innumerable difficulties in obtaining the ordinary and most urgent necessities of life, they deemed it their first duty, morally and religiously, to procure, with the limited means they had, such instruction for their children as is essential for the enjoyment of their religion, leaving other kinds of learning for more favourable opportunities. Of their real feeling on this head, the following incident is an example. I offered the means of procuring masters for the Russian language, geography, history, writing, and arithmetic in several schools, and my offer was most eagerly accepted, and the following day masters were engaged.

With respect to the inclination of the Israelites to frequent public schools, I found that a considerable number of the Jewish youth do attend these institutions, and many more would do so, were it not that a most difficult question arises to their parents, who say, We thoroughly appreciate the great advantages derivable from additional acquirements, but what is to become of our children after their minds shall have been so instructed in the higher branches of knowledge, and their sensibilities thereby necessarily refined, or how are we to provide them with proper habiliments and books required for the purpose, if we can hardly afford to satisfy them with bread? Very many Israelites are also much afraid that the mode of instruction at some public schools, and at some established for the Israelites exclusively, may induce their children to abjure the Jewish faith, which of course is dear to Israelites, and which they are ready to defend with their lives. For there are schools where persons, who are apostates from the Hebrew religion, are allowed to instruct the pupils, a course of tuition which must give rise to the most painful anxiety in the minds of those by whom that religion is still cherished. . . .

I beg leave now to state, with the most profound respect for your Excellency's judgment on this important subject, that I have given it most serious consideration, and knowing from ample evidence that my brethren in the Russian Empire are most anxious to advance their mental and social improvement, I humbly submit to your Excellency that they are in a fit condition for receiving the benefits which their most benevolent and merciful monarch intended to bestow upon them.

My humble petition to your Excellency is, that by your humane and kind intercession, supplication may be brought effectually before His Imperial Majesty's Government.

These supplications I will set forth. In the first place that they may be permitted to have the management themselves of their Hebrew theological schools. This is essential to their dearest sympathies and interests, as no other persons could promote the study of Hebrew literature more effectually. In all regions where civilization has made any marked progress, wherever its blessings are really experienced, Hebrew literature is regarded as its most precious feature, and all nations ardently cultivate its study and render homage to its worth. May it therefore please the Imperial Government to allow the Israelites themselves, the people by whose agency this boon has been given to mankind, to have the direction of those establishments in which they are to be trained in the true knowledge of their own inalienable inheritance? For the acquirement of knowledge in secular science and literature they should also have the appointment of their own teachers, such whose competency may be approved of by His Majesty's Minister of Public Instruction, or should be allowed to avail themselves of the public education establishments, subject, of course, to such periodical examinations as may be deemed necessary to test the progress of the pupil. . . . Finally, I have to petition your Excellency to take seriously into consideration all that I have here advanced on my suffering brethren's behalf. Your Excellency, I am aware, entertains the most philanthropic views, and when your Excellency reflects on the earnest desire of my brethren in His Imperial Majesty's dominions to benefit by education in the most comprehensive and useful sense of the word, and the restrictions which as Israelites impede a beneficial progress therein, I am sure that your Excellency's enlightened judgment will accord them your powerful advocacy with His Imperial Majesty's Government.

Your Excellency may indeed believe that I assert as my solemn conviction, that when they shall fully enjoy those privileges and

opportunities which their paternal and beneficent Sovereign has designed for them, the result will be surprising to those who have underrated their talents and inclinations, and most gratifying to all who, like your Excellency have evinced a sincere desire to promote their welfare, equally with that of the other numerous people over whom His Imperial Majesty reigns.

In his separate Polish report, he adopts the other two in substance, but adds:

I would most humbly and earnestly supplicate that the great and sublime course of proceeding already commenced by His Majesty, which I have ventured to solicit for the Israelites in Russia, should be extended as fully to those of my brethren who are resident in Poland. I supplicate the powerful Russian Government to prove to the whole civilized world that the amelioration of the condition of the Hebrew race, for which it is so graciously desirous, can be produced with completeness and effect, by measures that would appeal to the gratitude and love of a loyal and warm-hearted people.

Count Uvarow, in acknowledging the educational report to him, well says:

Your observations on the state of our Israelite schools have greatly interested me, and I thank you for expressing a favorable opinion of them, as they are only the first beginning of a new era in the education of your co-religionists in Russia. But we may be permitted to hope that the organization of the funds specially intended for this purpose will smooth the way to the desired improvements.

With regard to your solicitude about the religious education of the Israelites, you know my feeling with regard to this matter, and you were able to judge for yourself of the care we take to avoid in our school regulation all that could give offence to their observances or awaken their religious susceptibilities.

In Lucien Wolf's biography of Montefiore (p. 135) it is stated that when Sir Moses represented to the governor general of Poland,

how advantageous it would be to admit Jewish pupils to the public schools, that official cynically answered: "God forbid! The Jews are already too clever for us! How would it be if they got good schooling?"

The remark shows what a difference often exists between Russian heads of departments, and the administrative officers who must be relied upon to enforce their edicts! It was with particular reference to this important mission that the Queen of England raised Montefiore to the dignity of baronet; this is clearly indicated by the letter Sir Robert Peel sent him in 1846, announcing the honor, in the course of which he wrote:

This mark of Royal favor is bestowed upon you . . . in hope that it may aid your truly benevolent efforts to improve the social condition of the Jews in other countries by temperate appeals to the justice and humanity of their rulers.

Nay, more, even previously in a personal interview with him, summarized in the diary (vol. i, p. 388), Sir Robert Peel told him

he would be happy to do everything, either privately or publicly, to forward his benevolent objects; that he could write to Count Nesselrode to say that he had seen the favorable impression made on the public mind by Sir Moses' report of the promises made to him; and that, if his Excellency rightly valued its effect, those promises would in the result be confirmed by their strict fulfillment.

It further appears from references to this Russian visit in Emanuel's "A Century and a Half of Jewish History" (1910), based on the minutes of the London Committee of Deputies of the British Jews (pp. 46-48, 50, 52), that Montefiore took this trip in the nominal capacity of president of that organization in order to give the mission a more official character, and that the Jewish community of a Russian city had begged Montefiore to accept Lilienthal's invitation to participate in "this decisive movement in Israel's life and history." Moreover, the Montefiore report on Russian education that resulted, contained what is perhaps the ablest, very brief extant defence in the English language, of Jewish ethics—as based on the Talmud—against the anti-Semitic governmental charge that they justify wrong-doing on the part of the Jews against non-Jews, and against the Government.

It is interesting to observe that Abraham Lebensohn, according to Peter Wiernik's sketch of him in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," in 1846, presented to Sir Moses Montefiore, during that distinguished philanthropist's visit to Russia, a memorandum, portraying Jewish conditions in Russia, in which he frankly blamed the Jews themselves for part of their troubles, particularly their benighted educational system.⁴²

In fact, in 1848, the government opened a number of elementary schools for Jewish children, but they were regarded with grave distrust by the Jews, in view of governmental persecutions, and after attendance was made voluntary, instead of compulsory, and limited percentages of permissible Jewish attendance were arbitrarily fixed, an insignificant proportion merely of Jews attended them.

The educational situation of the Jews in Poland would have been materially different, if it had not been for the heavy influx of Russian Jews beginning with the early 'eighties.

Bernard Lauer in an interesting paper in the *Preussische Jahrbücher* (vol. clxii, pp. 281-301), entitled *Zum polnisch-jüdischen Problem, vom Standpunkt eines polnischen Juden*, contends that large masses of more backward Russian Jews settled in Poland, with the commencement of the May law persecution, and points out that Russia's immigration policy, until 1891, theoretically forbade even Jewish emigration beyond Russian dominions, so that at first Poland was practically their sole refuge, and thereafter, the Russian Jewish infusion was chiefly of a poorer stock of persons, unable to secure entry into foreign countries. The effect was to render comparatively insignificant prior tendencies at educational reform and at study of the Polish vernacular among the earlier Jewish residents, and to arouse antagonism against

⁴²Loewe, "Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montifiore," 1890, throws contemporary light on these conditions; see especially vol. i, pp. 312, 324 *et seq.*, 330 *et seq.*, 344 *et seq.*, 360 *et seq.*, 374 *et seq.*, 380 *et seq.*

these Russianized Jews among the Christian Poles, with their pronounced Polish patriotism. He shows that Jews had been patriotic Poles during the insurrection of 1863, and the conservative Rabbi of Warsaw, Berish Meisels, was banished to Siberia because of his pro-Polish attitude. Meanwhile Jews had entered Polish public schools and a Rabbinical school had been founded by the Polish patriot Eisenbaum, to furnish Polish-speaking Rabbis and teachers. Polish sermons were introduced in liberal congregations and Jewish schools were conducted in the Polish language.⁴³

But when the Polish rebellion was put down, the Polish schools from the elementary school to the university, were Russified, and Jewish attendance was regulated in accordance with the customary unfair Russian percentages. He points out that the efforts of the Polish Jews, on behalf of their poor, to found private schools, institutions for instruction in handicrafts and other similar institutions, still lack their chronicler; it was an incessant struggle between the Russian Government and the Jewish community, between the Russian educational functionaries in Poland and the philanthropic private Jewish organization, the latter being in turn characterized in terms

⁴³ Compare Philippson *Neueste Geschichte*, vol. iii, pp. 86-93; 49-50; Dubnow, "History of the Jews in Russia and Poland," vol. iii, p. 105 *et seq.*, p. 177 *et seq.*, p. 140 *et seq.*; Baskerville, "The Polish Jew," p. 11 *et seq.* In this connection, it is interesting to compare the very recent work on "Poland and the Minority Races," 1920, by Arthur L. Goodhart, counsel of the American Governmental commission, of which Hon. Henry Morgenthau was chairman, pp. 24-5, 65, 112, 127, 137-8, 166-175, also pp. 21, 23, 193-4. See also the report of the American commission itself, published as U. S. Senate Document No. 177 of the 66th Congress, 2nd Session, and the British Commission report, Sir Stuart Samuel, chairman, reprinted in *The Jewish Chronicle*, July 9, 1920, summarized in *American Jewish Congress Bulletin*, Series No. 7, August, 1920, but without Captain Wright's report in full. See also Georg Brandes' remarkable article on the Jews in Poland, reprinted in his "The World at War," pp. 93-117.

of opprobrium and reproach by the leaders of the immigrant Jews. The Russian Jewish migration above-referred to took on much larger numbers than is commonly realized, and led to the results herein specified, the hated Russian language, customs and manners (as well as the jargon) being brought along, and resulting in Polish characterization of the Jews as "bearers of Russian culture" and a "menace to their Polish institutions and language." When Russia favored these immigrants in Poland and gave them privileges denied to the Poles, the situation became still more acute. Of course, writing as a so-called "assimilationist" and an advocate, Mr. Lauer exaggerates some of these matters, and ignores other important factors. The same volume of the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, pp. 457-467, contains an answer by Nachum Goldmann, an ardent upholder of the jargon and Jewish nationalism. The Polish treaty of 1919 guarantees to her Jews not merely equal rights, but also minority cultural rights, including their own schools, to be maintained at the public expense. Very properly, however, it expressly authorizes Poland to make the study of Polish compulsory in all schools in her dominions; similar provisions are found in other recent treaties governing Eastern Europe."

"As to this Polish treaty, see its text and accompanying explanatory letter of M. Clemenceau on behalf of the Peace Conference in the *American Jewish Year Book* for 1919-20 and the October, 1919 supplement to the *American Journal of International Law*; also these documents, and extracts from treaties with other countries practically simultaneous, in the 1920 *American Jewish Year Book* and in the "Proceedings of Adjourned Session of American Jewish Congress," May 30 and 31, 1920, which also reprints the proposals and memorials of the American Jewish delegations and the report by Louis Marshall of his conversation with Dmowski, see also other Jewish representations to the Peace Conference in Chasanowitch and Motzkin's *Die Judenfrage der Gegenwart. Dokument-sammlung*, Stockholm, 1919, and the French Government's *Recueil de Documents etrangers*, dated Paris, July 31, 1919, issued by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and War, entitled *La*

Special attention should, however, be given to the work of the very important organization, the "Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia,"⁴⁶ organized in 1863, and patterned in large degree upon the constitution of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, founded three years earlier. This Russian organization has been identified closely, through generations, with the well known Günzburg family, who have unfalteringly and zealously promoted this and other educational work among the Russian Jews. Its first president was Joseph Yozel Günzburg (1812-1878), who was ennobled and given the title of baron in 1874; Horace Günzburg was its first vice-president and Rabbi A. Neumann, Leon Rosenthal and Abraham and I. Brodski were among its first board of officers. The Constitution set forth its aims, as follows:

To promote culture among the Russian Jews and to infuse into them love therefor. To this end, the society will endeavor to spread the knowledge of the Russian language among them; it will publish and assist others in publishing useful works, and journals, in Russian, as well as in Hebrew, that will aid in carrying out the purposes of the society, and it will further assist the young in devoting themselves to the pursuit of knowledge and of the sciences.

While the main society was located at Petrograd, branches were opened at Odessa, Moscow, Riga and elsewhere. The

Question Juive devant la Conference de la Paix. See also H. N. Brailsford's admirable study "The Polish Jews," reprinted in his "Across the Blockade," 1919, and my criticism of it before its original form, as given in *The New Republic*, August 20, 1919 had been changed, in *The American Israelite*, August 28, 1919, as well as in *The Reform Advocate*; also my article "Religious Liberty Guarantees at the Peace Conference" in the November-December, 1920 issue of *The American Law Review*, and earlier article on "The Jews in Poland" in *The Survey*, October 26, 1918.

⁴⁶ See article under that title in vol. xi of "The Jewish Encyclopedia," and its biographies of the Günzburg families, and cited works of Raisin, Philippon, Meisl, Wiernik, and Dubnow. See also, Prince Urussov, "Memoirs of a Russian Governor," 1910, which is valuable for its references to Jewish education in Russia.

narrow policy of the government, in checking efforts for Jewish education and its bitter and increasing anti-Semitic persecutions, and particularly the restrictions to the Jewish Pale, seriously retarded the work of the Society from without, and a good deal of Jewish antagonism and conservative nationalism from within. Its limited income did not enable it to do much in the way of providing schooling for the millions involved, and its influence, rather than direct instruction, has been a potent factor in the direction of modernization, while placing emphasis on Jewish religious loyalty. Upon the death of Baron Joseph Günzburg, his son, Baron Horace Günzburg, succeeded him as president in 1878. He strongly promoted other educational work also among the Russian Jews, and his son, Baron David Günzburg, actively participated in the same organization.

Baron de Hirsch became actively interested in the work of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* in 1873, and was particularly impressed with the value of secular educational activities among the Jews. He endowed Jewish educational institutions in Turkey in that year and later in Galicia for the benefit of the Jews there in 1889, originally with a capital of twelve million francs, and shortly before he organized the Jewish Colonization Association in 1891, to promote the emigration of the Jews from Russia to South America and elsewhere, he sought to remedy the conditions of the Jews in Russia by promoting education and abolishing the Pale. Accordingly, in 1887, he offered fifty million francs to the Russian Government, to be used for the purpose of improved education of the Jews there, but the government took a stand which indicated that there was grave danger of misapplication of any such endowment and diversion from the purposes he designated, and there was some opposition among Russian Jews to his project, also. It was only when he felt bound to accept as implacable, the government's policy of Russian Jewish extermination, that he substituted his endowment of the

Jewish Colonization Association for aiding the Jews in leaving Russia in large numbers, and settling elsewhere. So also his munificent endowment of the American Baron de Hirsch Fund particularly emphasized secular instruction and Americanization. Early in 1889, Baron de Hirsch expressed his views very emphatically on his Russian educational endowment project, as follows:

The funds I have placed at the disposal of Russia are not solely destined for the instruction of Jewish children, but also for that of young Christians. There are 4½ millions of Jews in Russia. They are in deep distress. Few of them speak Russian, but nearly all make use of the Hebrew jargon. They take their share, under terribly disadvantageous conditions, in the struggle for life. Around them rises a veritable Chinese wall which isolates them from the rest of humanity. My idea is to destroy a corner stone of this wall by establishing schools in Russia, on condition that Jews and Christians are admitted on a footing of perfect equality. Whether the government will facilitate the creation of such schools is another question. In Russia the government is all powerful, and unfortunately, it seems to apprehend that my plan conceals some political motive. Nothing, however, is farther from my thoughts. . . . As a Jew, I feel a sympathy for those of my own race. I have consequently set myself a task of affording them a good opportunity for working side by side with the general population of the country in which they reside, and assimilating with it. Only in such assimilation can we look for the solution of the Jewish question in Russia. All I have asked of the Russian Government is a guarantee that the funds I entrust to it shall be employed for the accomplishment of my object. The mixed schools which have been established in Austria and Galicia have succeeded, and similar schools would succeed in Russia if the government would divest itself of the suspicion of any political afterthought on my part.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ *The Jewish Chronicle*, London, January 25, 1889, p. 14. See also further as to this interview with a reporter of the Paris edition of *The New York Herald*, articles in *The American Hebrew*, January 18, February 1, 8, 15, 1889, the last item including a denial by Baron de Hirsch of advocacy of disappearance of the Jewish race; *The American Israelite*, February 21, 1889; *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, December 20, 1888, p. 806. As the authenticity of

How hostile towards the education of the Jew, even of the most elementary kind, the Russian autocracy was for the next few decades, and how successful these repressive measures were, clearly appears from a report on "Illiteracy among Jewish Immigrants and its Causes," prepared by a Committee of the National Jewish Immigration Council in 1914, of which I was Chairman, and David M. Bressler, Secretary, and published as United States Senate Document No. 611, 63d Congress, 2d Session, as also from the United States *Immigration Commission Reports*, 1911, volume iv, *Emigration Conditions in Europe*."

In regard to the Jews of Roumania, we learn from the biography of Benjamin Schwarzfeld, father of the late secretary of the Jewish Colonization Association, in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," that the importance of educational reforms among his co-religionists strongly impressed itself upon him. In 1852, despite considerable opposition, he opened the first modern Jewish school in Roumania, at his own expense, but in consequence he was actually excommunicated, though foreign diplomatic influence made the ban ineffective. Soon after the school closed, in 1858, the Roumanian Government at his instance, closed the old fashioned *cheder* and ordered that thereafter rabbis with a modern education should be appointed. In 1860, he accepted the honorary position of

this interview was questioned at the time, I might add that substantially the same language appears in unpublished letters in my possession, secured from the Baron's Paris files which will be utilized in a detailed biography of him which I am preparing.

"The Russian section of the latter report contained over one hundred pages chiefly devoted to the Jews, and includes S. Janovsky's valuable article, "Russian Law and Emigration" (pp. 251-64); a Jewish Colonization Association report on "Emigration as a Result of the Legal Situation of Jews in Russia" (pp. 272-81); and Dr. I. M. Rubinow's reports on "Economic Condition of the Jews in Russia" (pp. 281-336) and on "Educational Opportunities of the Jews in Russia" (pp. 342-7).

inspector general of the Jewish schools of Moldavia. Benjamin F. Peixotto, while United States Consul at Bucharest from 1870 to 1875, in formulating constructive plans for the amelioration of the Jews of Roumania, included radical educational reforms, and the adoption of instruction in the vernacular. These measures were approved by the International Jewish Committee, which was appointed pursuant to his efforts by the International Jewish Conference of Brussels of 1872, which included distinguished Jews like Sir Francis Goldsmid, Josef von Werthheimer, Prof. Moritz Lazarus, N. Leven and Isaac Adolphe Crémieux, but unfortunately, Roumanian governmental action thwarted these measures, (as more fully appears from the pamphlet report on "Illiteracy among Jewish Immigrants and its Causes," just cited), and the work of Kohler and Wolf,⁴⁸ instead of overcoming local Jewish opposition to such salutary reforms.

Nor should any consideration of educational reform among the Jews fail to include the splendid work performed by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*⁴⁹ along these lines, though geographically these activities fall largely beyond the range of this paper. It is important, however, to remember that every sound and comprehensive plan for Jewish amelioration during the past century, has included educational reforms, and instruction in the vernacular, as essential elements, and that the Jews themselves, in the countries involved, must add the element of self-emancipation, to render effective any grant of full civil and political rights in the countries in which they dwell.

⁴⁸ *Publications, supra*, No. 24.

⁴⁹ See "The Jewish Encyclopedia," and N. Leven's admirable history, *Cinquante ans d'histoire, L'Alliance Israélite Universelle (1860-1910)*, two volumes. See also the account of the session of February 6, 1900, *L'Alliance Israélite; Son action éducatrice; L'union scolaire*, by Jacques Bigart, and the English report of the meeting of April, 1903.

JEWISH PHYSICIANS IN ITALY: THEIR RELATION TO THE PAPAL AND ITALIAN STATES.

BY HARRY FRIEDENWALD, M. D.

INTRODUCTION.

The purpose of these chapters is to record the conditions under which Jewish physicians followed their profession during the long period of the history of their people,—the difficulties with which they contended, the restrictive or prohibitive laws imposed on them, the favor and success which they at times enjoyed. To do this in a complete measure would necessitate a narration of almost the entire history of the Jewish people in their scattered communities throughout the world, laying emphasis only on the incidental position and relations of those who devoted themselves to medicine: it would then be seen that at almost all times under almost all conditions, there were Jews who cultivated the medical art and science and that while they shared in general in the joys and the more frequent trials of their people, their position was nevertheless exceptional.

To the student of the history of medicine and more especially of the part which the Jews have played in the cultivation and progress of the art, this knowledge is of importance, for it forms the background upon which the whole picture must be projected and without which the real value of these contributions cannot be appreciated. It is not enough to know that the condition of the Jews of the Middle Ages was one of great hardship and persecution, that their activities were restricted, their entrance into almost all professions prohibited, that they stood outside the law, which did not protect them, that they were ostracised and forced to pass such martyrdom that an old author, Schudt, who was no

friend of the Jews, writes in astonishment "how even a single Jew could have survived such cruel massacres."¹ In spite of the fact that the life of Jewish physicians was forced into most exceptional paths, through many restrictive laws, the Jews maintained an almost continuous line of medical practitioners. Many have expressed their admiration and their praise for the services which the Jews have rendered to medicine. One historian went so far as to say that

the reputation of Jewish physicians was such, that at one time it was believed essential to skill in medicine, to be of Jewish descent.²

The writer has had for his object the collection of the material embracing the special conditions affecting the Jewish physicians in their study and practice of the medical sciences, in various countries, during the long period of the Diaspora in which the Jews have been part of various countries. Much of the material here collected is fragmentary and much that is valuable and important may have been overlooked. But the reader will appreciate the impossibility of securing all the material on such a subject and of obtaining at this time many works of reference.

The history of the Jews during the Diaspora has been the longest and is most continuous in Italy; we shall begin with this country. Though the Jews of Italy were never very numerous their history has special interest because it is continuous over a period of more than 2,000 years. Their lot in Italy, sad as this chapter of their history is, was less unfortunate than in most other lands of Christendom. They acquired great distinction in the fields of Jewish letters and in the one profession in which it was possible for them to enter, that of medicine. So closely interwoven with the history of Italy is that of the Roman Catholic Church that we have found it

¹ *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten*, 1714, vol. i, p. 455.

² Prunelle, cited by Tortaulon in Graetz, *Monatsschrift*, 1884, p. 501.

convenient to deal with the attitude of the church as a whole toward the Jewish physician in this chapter.

ROME.

We do not know when the Jews settled in Rome. Many came as prisoners of war³ some as slaves and it is probable that some settled as merchants. The enslaved received or purchased their freedom and obtained the rights of Roman citizenship. From the decree of expulsion of Jews who were not citizens in 139 B. C. E. we see that their settlement must have been at an early date. They developed into a community important commercially and politically (as is evident from Cicero's oration for Flaccus in 59 B. C. E.). Julius Cæsar showed his friendly attitude toward them by permitting public religious worship when he forbade all other associations for foreign cults. Other concessions to their religious practices were granted later. At the beginning of the reign of Augustus there were over 8,000 Jews in Rome. Nero accused the Jews and Christians of setting fire to the city.⁴

The condition of the Jews suffered frequent changes. They were banished⁵ and returned; their privileges and the

³ Philo, *Legatio ad Caium*.

⁴ There is a curious Talmudic legend that Nero became a Jew. Another tells that when Titus had desecrated the Holy of Holies and returned to Rome he was offered wine and an insect in the wine flew into his brain destroying it and growing as large as a pigeon. He suffered so that the physicians, who were called, determined to open the skull where they found the beast removed it, and preserved it so that Rabbi Eliezer ben Jose saw it in Rome. Vogelstein and Rieger, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, Berlin, 1896, vol. i, p. 91.

⁵ During the reign of Tiberius (19 C. E.) the Jews were banished and 4,000 youths were sent into military service in Sardinia but after the death of Sejanus they were allowed to return. (31 C. E.) In 49-50 religious services were forbidden. In 204 Septimus Severus prohibited conversion to Judaism or Christianity, but the rights of native born Jews were confirmed and they held public offices.

restrictions imposed at different times, chiefly in respect to religious observances, varied greatly. The early community lived in squalid quarters on the right bank of the Tiber and the occupations of its members were of the lowest but there were also scholars and poets among them and Celsus (about 30 C. E.) mentions Jewish physicians. For fracture of the skull Celsus recommends a mixture "ascribed to a Jewish author"⁶ and in another citation he refers to a mixture "of Judæus."⁷

We must bear in mind that the Romans did not encourage the study of medicine among their own citizens. Their physicians were for the most part Greeks, some of whom were distinguished, and Orientals especially Egyptians and Jews, though there were likewise a few physicians who were native Romans. The Romans had more faith, so Pliny says, in the foreigners than in native born physicians.⁸

By the end of the fourth century the Jews had attained to great prominence and to the highest classes of citizenship (*Ordo*) in some of the southern cities of Italy. They were often employed to fill important positions at the imperial palace such as *agentes in rebus*, a kind of secret police. Many were official physicians, *archiatri*. This is pointed out by Juster, and Askowith.⁹

References to Jewish physicians in the early centuries of the Christian Era are very scant. Juster has collected a few Jewish epigraphic records which make note of "the physician."

The favorable legal position of the Jews was markedly altered when Christianity became the state religion under

⁶ Celsus, vol. v, 19. 11.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 22. 4.

⁸ See Neuburger and Pagel, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin*, Jena, 1903, vol. i, p. 573.

⁹ *Les droits politiques des Juifs dans l'empire romaine*, pp. 67-68; Askowith, "The Toleration of the Jews under Julius Cæsar and Augustus," 1915, p. 199.

Constantine in 312. Jews were then regarded as citizens of the second class and were referred to in terms of greatest contempt in the edicts of Constantine.

St. Jerome (340-420) who lived in Rome from 382 to 385 speaks of Jewish doctors who pass their time in the medical booths.

Among them [a scholar] is now a rare bird, since they all have their minds on pleasure and money, and pay more attention to the care of the stomach than of the mind, and they think themselves learned in this, if in the medical booths, they disparage the work of all doctors.¹⁰

St. Basil (330-379) did not hesitate to take medicine from a Jew¹¹ but St. John Chrysostom of Constantinople who lived in the second half of the fourth century protested vigorously against seeking the help of Jewish physicians and advised Christians that it were better to die.¹² This is the earliest record of a view which, as we shall see, found frequent expression during the middle ages. Under Theodosius the Jews were placed under the protection of the civil law. In 438 Theodosius (Code III) prohibited the Jews from all public offices which included that of official physicians.

No Jew or Samaritan shall in future be permitted to fill public offices or positions of honor, the headship of cities or be representative of cities.

This is the first enactment which breaks away from the liberality of Roman law and it marks the beginning of a long series of legal restrictions, which were heaped up during many centuries.¹³

¹⁰ *Hieronymi Opera omnia*, vol. v; *Patrologia Latina*, Paris, Migne. 1865, vol. xxv, p. 860; *Prologus in Hoseam*, end.

¹¹ Haeser, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Medizin*, Jena, 1875, vol. i, p. 838.

¹² See Juster, *loc. cit.* For evident reasons a number of references to church fathers, synods, etc., not in Rome but in other parts of the empire, will be included in this chapter.

¹³ S. Cassel, in Ersch and Gruber, *Enzyklopädie*, Leipzig, 1850, vol. xxvii, p. 50.

The early bishops of Rome showed little animosity toward the Jews. In the fifth century Gelasius was very favorable to them and had as one of his household a Jew Telesinus to whom he referred as "a very distinguished man," as his friend and to whom he showed great attachment.¹⁴ In spite of the law of Theodosius, the statement is made by Haeser¹⁵ that Emperor Justin II (565-578) had a Jewish physician by the name of Timothy.

In 590 Gregory I became pope and from this time on the Roman bishops were the rulers of Rome.

Gregory was mild and just in his relation to the Jews. He was the author of the well known words used in one of his epistles, *sicut Judæis non debet essa licentiata*.¹⁶ Nevertheless the condition of the Jews became worse and worse. Many of the early church councils dealt with Jewish restrictions and prohibitions. It was the Quinisext Oecumenical Council

¹⁴ It has been assumed that Telesinus was a physician by so careful a student as Gudemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Cultur der abendländischen Juden während des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, Vienna, 1884, vol. ii, p. 15. But there is no basis for this assumption. He was a *familiaris*, a person "attached to the household of the pope or of bishops. These must actually do some domestic service. They are supported by their patron and enjoy privileges which in the case of papal familiars are considerable" (Encyclopedia Britannica). Many of the Jewish physicians to the popes are designated as familiars, but so also are other Jewish agents.

¹⁵ Haeser, *supra*, p. 838, citing Fabricius, *Bibl. Gr.*, XIII, pp. 302, 348. I have been unable to confirm these references.

¹⁶ "Just as the Jews in their communities may not be allowed any liberties beyond the measure allotted them by law, so must they, on the other hand, suffer no violation of their rights" (*Gregorü Epistula*, viii, 25, ed. Migne, and many later popes followed Gregory in their Bulls, granting protection to the Jews using this same introductory phrase. This has been described as the Magna Charta of Roman Jewry. See "The Jewish Encyclopedia," article "Popes."

in Constantinople in 692 that forbade Christians from calling upon Jewish physicians or taking medicine from them.

No Christian whether layman or cleric may eat the unleavened bread of the Jews, have confidential intercourse with Jews, receive medicine from them or bathe with them. The cleric who does so is deposed, the layman is excommunicated.¹⁷

These prohibitions were repeated by many subsequent councils. They became the law and were made part of the decretal of Saint Ivo of Chartres (1040-1116) and of Gratian (1151).¹⁸

These prohibition against Jewish physicians stand in strange contrast with Jewish law,¹⁹ on the one hand, and with Mohammedan law, on the other:

Even the strictest Moslem doctors confessed that the faithful might lawfully follow the example and precept of the Prophet in using the medical services of unbelievers.²⁰

Little is known concerning medical history from the fifth to the tenth century and we are therefore not surprised that many centuries passed without the mention of a Jewish physician in Italy. From this we must not infer that there were no Jewish physicians, but merely that they have left no record. The references given above to St. John Chrysostom in the fourth century and to the action of the Quinisext Council in the seventh century are evidence that they were sufficiently common to have called forth the protest of the fathers of the church.

¹⁷ Canon ii of the Quinisext Synod. See Karl Joseph v. Hefele, "History of the Councils of the Church," translated by Clark, Edinburgh, 1896, vol. v, p. 225.

¹⁸ *Nullus eorum, qui in sacro sunt ordine aut laicus azyma Judæorum manducet aut cum eis habitet aut aliquem eorum in infirmitatibus suis vocet ut medicinam ab eis percipiat aut cum eis in balneo lavet.* Gratian, *Decret*, pt. ii, *Causa* 28.

¹⁹ See writer's article "Relation of Jews and Judaism to Medicine," in *American Medicine*, September, 1917.

²⁰ Withington, "Medical History," London, 1894, p. 139.

The first Jewish physician whose name we meet is Sabbato ben Abraham Donnolo. He lived in the tenth century; he was born in 913 and he was still alive in 982.²¹ He studied science in the "land of the Romans," probably in Salerno; medicine and astrology were his special studies. He traveled extensively. He wrote a commentary on the "Book of Creation,"—a mystical work. A fragmentary Hebrew work by Donnolo on pharmacology was discovered in the last century by Steinschneider who published,²² translated, and carefully studied²³ it in its relation to the history of mediæval medicine. We know little about Donnolo or the circumstances under which he lived and worked. That little is derived from a few statements which he makes in the introduction to his commentary and from a few references to Donnolo in the biography of Saint Nilus, the younger, the abbot of Rossano. The latter are of special interest to us.²⁴

On the next day the saint came down from that place, and when he had entered into the city, there came up to him a certain Jew, Domnulus by name, who had been known to him from his boyhood because he was studious to a very high degree, and was learned in the medical art in no common way. He therefore began to speak to the father thus: I have heard of your severe mode of life in which you train yourself, and of your great abstinence, and I was surprised, knowing the habit of your body, that you had not fallen into epilepsy. Therefore if you are willing, I shall give you a drug befitting your temperament, so that after that in your whole life you may fear no sickness. And the great father said: One of your Hebrews said to us: It is better to trust in God than to trust in man. We, therefore, trusting in our God as our physician, and in our Lord Jesus Christ do not

²¹ *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. xxii, p. 215.

²² Steinschneider, *Donnolo. Fragment des ältesten medicinischen Werkes in hebräischer Sprache*, Berlin, 1867.

²³ Steinschneider, in *Virchow's Archiv für Pathologie, Anatomie und Physiologie*, vols. xxxviii, xlii.

²⁴ The following translation is made from the Latin quotation in Steinschneider, *supra*, who cites p. 313, chapter 7, § 50 of the Biography.

need drugs made by you. You indeed would not otherwise have been better able to make sport of the more simple Christians than if you had boasted that you had given Nilus of your drugs. The physician, hearing this, answered nothing.

A second reference is as follows:²⁵ It is related that Eupraxius, the Byzantine Viceroy of Calabria, suffered illness (gangrene) because of his evil conduct toward Nilus and finally in repentance allowed Nilus to garb him as a monk.

There was also present a Jew, Donnulus, as a doctor whom I have mentioned before, who watched what went on around him; and he came up, and after admiring what had been done, addressed those standing there in this way: "To-day I saw marvellous things, which we have heard were done before. Now have I seen Daniel, the prophet, taming the lion. For who had ever been able to lay his hand on a lion. Yet this new Daniel both shaved his hair and put on him a monk's cap. And this a Jew said."

It has been stated that Donnolo was the physician of Eupraxius but there is no ground whatever for this assumption.²⁶ The citations are evidence of the reputation of Donnolo as well as of the attitude of one of the great Italian church fathers of the tenth century toward Jewish physicians and toward the medical treatment of disease.

This is not the place to discuss the medical fragment referred to except to say that it is not only the oldest European Hebrew medical writing, but also the oldest Italian medical work after the fall of the Roman Empire; that it contains an enumeration of 120 medicinal remedies and what is most important it gives evidence, as Steinschneider has proved, that even at that late date Greek medicine had been preserved in Southern Italy and had not as yet been influenced by Arabic science.

²⁵ Chapter 8, § 52-56.

²⁶ See Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, second edition, vol. v, p. 316; Steinschneider's refutation of this and other misstatements concerning Donnolo, *Virchow's Archiv*, vol. xxxviii, pp. 71, 72.

The general condition of the Jews gradually became worse during the conflict between popes and emperors (1000-1304). Their history becomes a story of humiliations and persecutions, prohibitions and restrictions, enacted, evaded, repealed and again enforced. In 1021 a Jewish persecution took place in Rome because of an alleged desecration of a holy image and some Jews were sentenced to death by Benedict VIII; but on the other hand Pope Nicholas II in the eleventh century condemned the persecutions of the Jews.

During the twelfth century Jewish learning and literature thrived in Rome. Abraham Ibn Ezra who had come from Spain published his commentaries. A group of scholars are mentioned as the "wise men of Rome" by the traveler, Benjamin of Tudela (about 1166). Poets developed new forms of Hebrew composition;²⁷ but no names or works of Jewish physicians in Rome are known to us. Benjamin of Tudela relates that there were about 200 Jews in Rome who occupied an honorable position and paid no tribute, and amongst them were officials of the Pope Alexander, Rabbi Jeziel being "the steward of his house and of all that he had."²⁸

Innocent III (1198-1216) was the chief instigator of the many persecutions suffered in later times by the Jews in Rome and in all Christian lands. It was at the Fourth Lateran Oecumenical Council²⁹ in 1215 that Pope Innocent enacted

²⁷ Berliner, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, Frankfurt a. M., 1893, vol. ii, part i, p. 29.

²⁸ "The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela," edited by M. N. Adler, 1907, p. 5.

²⁹ The church councils of 1179 and 1215 caused the Jews great anxiety. While the former was being held "a spell of terror came upon all the congregation of the Jews and they fasted for three days in succession and God was kind to them so that they spoke only good." *Shevet Jehuda*, ed. Wiener, p. 112. But their efforts were of no avail when the latter Council convened, though the Jews had sent their most prominent representatives from a gathering that had been called together in Montpellier. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

laws that Jews and Mohammedans should wear badges of special form,³⁰ and that prohibited their employment in public offices. It was at this Council that physicians were ordered to urge their patients to call in the priest at the beginning of their treatment, an injunction frequently repeated as we shall see by later councils throughout the middle ages.³¹ The church councils during the thirteenth century renewed the prohibition concerning the employment of Jewish physicians. At the Synod of Avignon in 1209 it had been decreed that Every bishop shall remove . . . the Jews from the public offices.³²

It was possible in spite of these conditions for Pope Honorius III in 1220 to take under his papal protection Azzachus Avembenist (Isaac Bendeniste) of Barcelona, Jewish court physician of King James of Aragon at the king's request, and to issue orders to the archbishop of Tarragona not to permit him and his families to be molested.³³ The Council of Treves in 1227 ruled against "taking any medicine from Jews," and decreed that "Jews are not to be allowed

³⁰ At the council no definite sign was mentioned. But Innocent it appears chose a *signum circulare*, probably as contrast to the half-moon of the Mohammedans, and this ring was adopted generally. But the color varied,—red and yellow in different countries, as did also the prescribed size. Beside the sign, the Jews wore pointed Jews' caps, the women special veils or shawls. Cassel, *supra*, p. 75; Ulysse Robert, in *Revue des Études juives*, vol. vi, p. 81; vol. vii, p. 94. In Italy they were also obliged to wear red tabards. Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. i, p. 335. There were severe punishments for those who disregarded these injunctions. Jewish physicians were at times exempted and permitted to wear the professional garb of the Christian doctors. Graetz, "History of the Jews," Philadelphia, 1898, vol. iv, p. 287.

³¹ Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, second edition, Freiburg i. B., 1873-90, vol. v, p. 888.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 843.

³³ Stern, *Urkundliche Beiträge über die Stellung der Päpste zu den Juden*, Kiel, 1895, vol. ii, pp. 14, 17.

to practice medicine.”³⁴ The Council of Toulouse in 1229 ordained that

one who is charged with heresy or who is even suspected of heresy dare not occupy the position of physician.³⁵

The Council of Canterbury in 1236 charged that no physician may give advice to a patient which is harmful to his soul.³⁶

At the Council of Beziers in 1246, after repeating the old laws against excessive usury, against possession of Christian slaves, and against holding of offices by Jews, it was ordered that they wear a circular badge, and that the Christians be prohibited from employing a Jewish physician. This council decreed that all officials high and low, take oath to lend their aid to the church in destroying heresy, and among those classes enumerated as having to take oath there are physicians.³⁷ The Councils of Paris in 1225, of Vienna in 1267, and of Exeter in 1287 reaffirmed the law against employing a Jewish physician.

The Synod of Albi in 1254 passed a decree (extending that of Toulouse in 1229) which must have had serious results upon the practice of Jewish physicians. No physician who has not been specially licensed by the bishop, may practice in regions suspected of heresy.³⁸ Later the Synod of Treves (1310) decreed:

Inasmuch as so many ignorant physicians have arisen, no one shall henceforth practice or teach medicine and surgery without the permission of the bishop who shall examine the applicant both in respect to his knowledge and his morals. [Such medical examinations must have been interesting!] ³⁹

³⁴ Hefele, *supra*, pp. 951, 952; Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, p. 1463.

³⁵ Hefele, *supra*, p. 983.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1053.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1143.

³⁸ Hefele, *supra*, vol. vi, p. 50.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 494.

During the period of Alexander IV (1254-61) Jewish names again appeared in official documents after an interval of 750 years. On February 1, 1255, a papal order was issued granting certain commercial privileges to a Jewish merchant who stood in commercial relation with the Vatican. Gregory X in 1272 confirmed the bull granting protection to the Jews and insisted on the absurdity of the blood accusation.⁴⁰ But the canonical laws against the Jews were nowhere more disregarded than in Italy.⁴¹

In spite of the prohibitions against physicians, so frequently and solemnly repeated, it is interesting to learn that Pope Martin IV, (1281-1284) a pupil of Rabbi Nathan of Montpellier, had for some time at his court a Jewish physician from the north of France;⁴² this physician treated the pope's secretary; but he complained bitterly in his book *Sepher Hajashar*:

We Jewish physicians, who are under the yoke of the rulers, require very special wisdom, for the Christian physicians envy us and incite against us; and at times we must explain our scientific views before them when they, hearing something that was unknown to them, will say: "He will cause the death of Christians." Therefore I advise every Jew [physician] not to touch a Christian unless he can hold his own in what is to be known in natural science.⁴³

The example of Martin IV was soon followed. Pope Nicholas IV (1288-1292) at the end of the century had as his court physician Isaac ben Mordecai, better known as Maestro Gajo, a man distinguished as a scholar not only in medicine but also in many other fields. The confidence placed in him by the pope must convince us of his high stand-

⁴⁰ "The Jewish Encyclopedia," article Rome.

⁴¹ Graetz, *supra*, vol. iii, p. 628.

⁴² Steinschneider, *Hebräische Bibliographie*, vol. xvii, p. 61, cited by Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. i, p. 250, and Güdemann, vol. ii, pp. 237, 337.

⁴³ From a Hebrew MS. in the Royal Library of Vienna, quoted by Güdemann, *ibid*.

ing and his distinction as a physician, particularly when we bear in mind the attitude of the Church toward Jewish physicians, as well as the bitter enmity of their Christian colleagues. None was more violently opposed to them than the well known physician Arnold of Villanova who went to Rome in 1300 to denounce the clergy before the pope and to protest vehemently against their employing Jewish physicians. In his criticism of the immorality of the clergy this was his chief complaint. On another occasion he writes:

We remember to have heard in the sermons of the clergy that every Christian who intrusts his body to the medical treatment of Jews merits excommunication and is guilty of a capital crime. We see however that in general no physician enters either a convent or a monastery except a Jew.

He did not succeed in his denunciation before the pope probably because of the influence of Gajo.⁴⁴ How great his influence was may be seen from the following: When Gajo informed Pope Nicholas that the clergy of Rome treated the Jews with cruelty, violated their rights and deprived them of their property, he interfered in their behalf and alleviated their condition. Boniface VIII (1294-1303) likewise employed Gajo as his physician.⁴⁵ Gajo was held in high esteem by his Jewish colleagues such as Zerahiah ben Shealtiel Hen, and Hillel ben Samuel of Verona, and his position in the Roman Jewish community was the highest. In spite of the high honor shown him Gajo lived in constant fear; he showed great anxiety to avoid anything that might be used to his injury. This is seen in some of his correspondence.⁴⁶

Under conditions such as have been here described we cannot be surprised that a Roman Jew, Judah ben Moses, better known as Judah Romano⁴⁷ (end of thirteenth century)

⁴⁴ Güdemann, vol. ii, pp. 154, 155.

⁴⁵ "The Jewish Encyclopedia," article Boniface VIII.

⁴⁶ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. i, p. 254.

⁴⁷ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. i, p. 440.

should find it necessary to justify his translation of certain Latin scholastics into Hebrew, giving as the reason that "the Christians are not completely lacking in science." His Jewish contemporaries had no love for Latin, the language of the oppressor.⁴⁸ We must not forget that these were the days of Dante and of the Hebrew poet Immanuel of Rome (1264-1330) who in his *Inferno*, put the bad doctor and the quack in hell because of the harm they do society and who took delight in light satire on the foolish patient.⁴⁹ Immanuel was the cousin of Judah of Rome, mentioned above.

With the beginning of the fourteenth century and lasting two decades into the fifteenth there was a period of schism in the papacy and of democracy in the government. The fourteenth century was, therefore, marked for the material prosperity and no less for the spiritual development of the Jewish community of Rome. There was a great revival of Hebrew poetry, philosophy and science. Jewish and Christian scholars associated intimately. The Jewish physicians shared in the general welfare. Church councils it is true continued their harsh decrees. At the Synod of Valladolid (1322) the prohibition concerning Jewish physicians is explained:

Inasmuch as Jewish and Saracenic physicians often give Christian patients harmful drugs, it has long been forbidden to call them in to treat Christians. Since, however, this prohibition has been given little attention, it is necessary that church prelates enforce it, etc.⁵⁰

The Synod of Rouen in 1335 repeated the prohibition concerning both classes of physicians "because they endeavor to destroy the Christians,"⁵¹ thus giving evidence of the bitter hatred of the Church.

⁴⁸ Steinschneider, *Virchows Archiv*, vol. xlii, p. 56; *idem*, "Jewish Literature," London, 1887, p. 96.

⁴⁹ "Wit and Satire on the Physician in Hebrew Literature," *Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin*, September, 1918.

⁵⁰ Hefele, vol. vi, p. 616.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1335.

The Synod of Périgueux (1368) moderated the prohibition not to employ Jewish physicians "except in case of necessity."⁵² The regulations concerning the calling in of the priest are frequently repeated. At the Synods of Treves (1310) and of Ravenna (1311) the physician is forbidden to visit the patient often unless the priest has been called⁵³ and at the former he is again forbidden "to give anything injurious to the patient."

In 1312 Henry VII of Germany was crowned emperor in Rome, and the Jews were obliged to pay the heavy coronation tax. They were very wealthy at this time and there were important financiers among them. Severe persecution in 1321, during the pontificate of John XXII (who ruled in Avignon) resulted in the burning of the Talmud in Rome by papal decree. This act was followed by a riot in which a number of Jews, some very distinguished members of the community, were killed. In 1349 the first great Black Plague came upon Rome, but the Jews, perhaps protected by the papal bull of Clement VI,⁵⁴ suffered less than they did in countries other than Italy, and were spared the frightful massacres which followed upon the accusation that they had caused the pestilence by poisoning the wells.

The uprisings led by Rienzi in the middle of the century with the anarchy and violent conflicts which attended them, cannot have passed over the Jewish community without deeply affecting it. With the return of the popes to Rome (1367) Jewish conditions improved. But in 1374 the plague again ravaged Rome and the Jewish community suffered severely from it. There is a beautiful Hebrew poem by one Solomon that has been preserved and which tells of its ravages.⁵⁵ In 1399 still another outbreak of the plague played

⁵² Hefele, vol. iii, p. 723.

⁵³ Hefele, vol. vi, pp. 495-511. See also later councils, vol. vii, pp. 416, 424; vol. viii, p. 546.

⁵⁴ Graetz, vol iv, p. 103.

⁵⁵ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. i, pp. 316, 489.

havoc with the Jewish community. In spite of all trials and sufferings of the community the Jewish physicians continued their work and rose to positions of importance.

The Jewish physicians lived in the Trastevere where the schools of medicine and grammar were established by the Senate in the second half of the fourteenth century.

The city ordinances in 1360 exempted

physicians experienced in the theory and practice of medicine, so long as they are in active practice

from wearing the "red tabard" which the Jews were compelled to wear. They were to reside in the city and be approved by certain officials.⁵⁶

In 1376 the Roman Senate relieved the Jewish physician Maestro Manuele and his son Angelo and their families from all taxes⁵⁷ as well as from wearing the Jewish badge.

because of their great experience in their profession and of the valuable services they had rendered and were rendering daily through their art to the citizens of Rome.⁵⁸

To make the exemption from taxes effective, the Senate in 1385 reduced the taxes of the Jewish community during their lives and the lives of Angelo's male descendents by the sum assessed to the physicians, so as to relieve the physicians of this obligation.⁵⁹ The statement is made that the doctors had threatened to leave the city. Boniface IX who had become pope in 1392 made Angelo, his court physician and familiar⁶⁰ and in a special bull in 1399 he confirmed to

⁵⁶ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. i, p. 335. Almost sixty years later a council of the church required that Jewish women wear a little bell as part of their distinctive garb. Hefele, vol. vii, p. 380.

⁵⁷ This would appear to have been an ancient tradition in Rome. Augustus granted the physicians "immunity" from taxes in gratitude for his cure. See Neuburger and Pagel, vol. i, p. 579.

⁵⁸ Stern, *Urkundliche Beiträge über die Stellung der Päpste zu den Juden*, Kiel, 1893, vol. i, p. 14.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17, *Medico et familiari nostro*.

Angelo all the rights and privileges granted in 1376 and 1385 to him and to his father who had meanwhile died. The letter, under date of July 1, 1392, is as follows:

Boniface, etc., to his beloved son Angelo son of Manuele the Jew, born at Trastevere a Jew, our physician and familiar, greeting:

Since you are adorned with the jewels of honesty, justice and virtues, as we are convinced by careful experience, and since you are desirous of devoting yourself even more intensely to our service and that of the Roman Church as you have done so worthily in the past, and since we have become sensible of your fame for probity, we are graciously attached to your person and are willing to advance you in accordance with your service by a more worthy title and by our grace, therefore, we appoint you by these presents as physician and familiar to us and to the Apostolic Chair (Papal office) under the protection of the sainted apostles Peter and Paul and of us and of the above mentioned Chair and make you one of the number of the physicians reckoned as familiar to us and to the Chair:

With this intent that you enjoy through this preferment more richly the Apostolic Grace, and that you shall truly enjoy as it is our desire all the privileges, honors, immunities, indulgences, liberties and exemptions as well as all other marks of grace now belonging to or in future to be bestowed upon our familiars, other Apostolic Constitutions or contrary edicts notwithstanding.

May you so devote yourself to the culture of virtue as we call upon you to win for yourself still greater favor. Given at Rome at Saint Peter's, etc.⁶¹

In 1392 soon after Angelo's appointment the Pope appointed still another Jewish physician Salomo de Sabaldachio of Perugia as his familiar.⁶² Pope Boniface conferred certain ameliorations upon the Roman Jewish community in a bull in 1402, for their financial condition had become greatly impoverished as the result of their many calamities.

Most important is the following:

The city marshals and other officers dare not annoy a Jew at a single order of the Inquisition . . . nor without the sealed

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17; Berliner, vol. ii, part 1, p. 62.

⁶² Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. i, p. 318.

command from the curia because each and every Jew and Jewess living in the city shall and must be treated as Roman citizens, which they are and so they must be regarded and respected in all matters and by all, enjoying all the liberties of Roman citizenship.⁶³

In the "Jewish Regulations" contained in a papal bull of 1402 the physicians Angelo and his sons were required to treat anyone of the Romans who was injured in a military campaign. There was to be a heavy fine for anyone who took their horses. On the other hand the physicians were again relieved from the necessity of wearing the Jewish garb and were entitled to all the privileges of their official position.⁶⁴ The text of this portion of the bull is as follows:

Furthermore that Maestro Angelo the Jew and his sons, the physicians, be held, and must give treatment in the city to all and each of the sworn of the society of the city that may be hurt or wounded in any battle or cavalry engagement, general or special, that has to be carried on by the Roman People or by the command of the presiding lords of the people; concerning the cure of whom they themselves, Master Angelo and his sons must be at the disposal of the aforementioned wounded, and while any general or special engagement of arms, or a cavalry encounter is taking place, it shall not be and is not permitted to any of the sworn or the unsworn to take away the horse or horses of anyone of them upon pain of a fine of a hundred pounds of provisions. . . . Whenever any military or cavalry engagement has to be undertaken, the horses shall remain with the said Master Angelo and his sons that they may the more speedily be able to go and come through the city for the business of healing, and be able the more rapidly and zealously to exercise their said art, and that Maestro Angelo and his sons may go about clothed in whatsoever color without any tabard or dress of the Jews, and they may retain all gift and fees granted to them and whatever privileges and writings established in their favor and granted by whatever officials, ecclesiastical or secular, which privileges and writings must remain un infringed and inviolably observed to them and each of them on the part of all officials of said city and society, both

⁶³ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. i, pp. 318, 320, 493.

⁶⁴ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. i, pp. 330, 493, 494.

present and future nor may any part of those privileges and writings in whatsoever manner be abridged from them in whole or in part, by the officials or by others. Yes, we wish those rights to be kept intact, that they may continue in force always and forever. If notwithstanding any may oppose this they do so under pain of punishment, of a fine of 100 florins of gold, to be exacted from anyone acting to the contrary and to be handed over to the Chamber of the above mentioned city. . . . Given at Rome at St. Peter's in the year of the Lord 1402, April 15, etc.

In 1404 the papal Chamberlain of Boniface IX granted letters to Angelo di Manuele and his sons Lucius and Manuele, "Jewish surgeons in Trastavere in Rome" and familiars to the pope, taking them under his protection, so that they cannot be called before any court temporal or ecclesiastical but only before the papal *curia*.⁶⁵ These rights were repeatedly confirmed.

In 1405 the Roman Senate bestowed all the honors and privileges of citizenship upon Elijah di Sabbato (Elijah Be'er [Fonte] ben Shabbathai) a distinguished and learned Jewish physician. Elijah was born at the end of the fourteenth century. He settled first in Viterbo, the senate having granted him the rights of citizenship, and then in Rome in 1405. The document referred to is the oldest letter patent of the kind that has been preserved. It follows:

In the name of God, amen. We, Franciscus de Panciaticis, knight of Pistoja, Doctor of Laws, Honorable Senator of the city of Rome and we the Reformers of the City and Administrators of the Roman People in peace and in war, to the learned Master Elijah di Sabbato, the Jew, Physician and Physicus and Doctor of Medicine, our Greeting and Favor:

The faithlessness of the Jews whom the Lord of the world has created, must be rejected, and the stubbornness of their unbelief must be crushed, nevertheless their preservation is useful and necessary to Christians in certain respects, specially such as are well trained in medical art and who show themselves helpful in restoring Christians to their former health. Inasmuch as you,

⁶⁵ Eubel, *Zu dem Verhalten der Päpste gegen die Juden*, *Römische Quartalschrift*, 1899, p. 39.

as we know from experience, have in the past and at this time used your well known skill in medical art to cure not only our citizens but likewise many strangers who, suffering from various diseases, have called upon you for help; therefore considering how necessary and beneficent your life is as restorer of the health of the Romans and of others, we appoint you a Roman citizen.

Elijah di Sabbato took the oath of allegiance upon the Holy Scrolls. He was thus entitled to all the rights and liberties of other Romans. Neither he nor his family were obliged to wear the Jewish badge, and they were permitted to carry weapons. He received an annual income, payable out of the taxes received from the Jewish Community.⁶⁶ Elijah played an important rôle and his name is met with in important papers down to 1443.⁶⁷

In the same year 1406, privileges were extended to the physicians, Moise di Lisbona and Moise di Tivoli.⁶⁸ Solomon de Sabalducchio of Perugia

in consideration of the good services rendered to the pope and to the Roman Church

was reappointed in 1406 court physician and familiar by Innocent VII, (1404-1406) and all the rights granted by Boniface IX in 1392 were confirmed.⁶⁹ Similar privileges were granted in the same year to the four sons of Moise of Bologna, deceased 1406.⁷⁰ Maestro Angelo, the son of Angelo Solomon and his son Mela, Jews residing in the district of San Angelo were taken under papal protection and relieved from wearing the red tabard (1406).⁷¹ Manuele, son of Vitalucius of Rimini, and the Jewish physician Abraham, son of Ligucius of Padua, were likewise taken under the

⁶⁶ Berliner, vol. ii, part i, p. 64.

⁶⁷ Elijah was called to Henry IV of England in 1410. See *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xviii, pp. 142, 360.

⁶⁸ Stern, vol. i, p. 21.

⁶⁹ Eubel, p. 39.

⁷⁰ Eubel, p. 39.

⁷¹ Eubel, p. 40.

protection of the pope but there is no mention that they were free from wearing the badge (1406).⁷²

In 1407 Pope Gregory XII (1406-1409) confirmed the privileges which earlier popes had granted to Angelo di Manuele.⁷³ It has been assumed that the special privileges granted at this time were the result of the influence of the Jewish court physicians.

But the condition of the times was serious, worse in other parts of Europe than in Italy. For this reason a Jewish Synod was called together first at Bologna, then at Forli (1416 and 1418), to consider what measures might avert the threatening danger.⁷⁴ It is interesting to learn that of the twelve delegates, three were physicians and three others, the sons of physicians.

It was fortunate for the Jews of Rome that Pope Martin V now ascended the papal chair. Martin V (1417-1431) was one of the best and kindest of popes, and during his reign the Jews enjoyed their happiest time. In 1418 he confirmed their rights and privileges throughout the Holy Roman Empire and he

took the Jews under his fatherly protection against undeserved accusations on the part of Christians and against false charges of scoundrels following either hypocritic pious zeal or the lust for booty.

He forbade⁷⁵ the priests from preaching sermons hostile to the Jews.

In 1420 the independence of Rome came to an end. There was ushered in the humanistic period of the Renaissance in

⁷² According to Cassel, Dom Moises, the court physician of King João of Portugal presented a bull of Boniface IX, dated July, 1389, to the King in which the Pope forbade any act of violence against the Jews to force them to baptism. See Ersch and Gruber, p. 230.

⁷³ Eubel, p. 40.

⁷⁴ Graetz, vol. iv, p. 218.

⁷⁵ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 4.

which the Jews participated with enthusiasm. Early in his reign Pope Martin confirmed the rights of Leucius and Maruele sons of Angelo,—“the rights granted by Boniface IX and John XXIII” (1420).⁷⁶ To Elijah di Sabbato then in Firmo he vouchsafed “safe conduct” to Rome (1420).⁷⁷ Another physician, Maestro Elijah Alamannus, the court physician and familiar of the Duke of Bourbon (probably Louis II of France), was the bearer of messages in 1420, from King Alfonso V of Aragon to Pope Martin V and was granted “safe conduct” to Rome whither he had been called because of his medical skill.⁷⁸ In 1421 Pope Martin repealed the decrees of the anti-pope Benedict XIII, and allowed Jewish physicians in Spain to treat Christians.⁷⁹ In 1422 he issued a bull repealing entirely the prohibition forbidding the Jews to engage in medical practice (*quod mederi possint Christiani impune*).⁸⁰

A most important bull was the one of 1422 which defended the Jews against the charges of poisoning of wells, using blood for the Passover, etc., issued at the instance of the Jews of Germany; a translation of this bull was made in the house of *Elihe Saby* (*Elijah di Sabbato*), *von Wonomien, ein doctor in der kunst der ertzney*. He was made court physician to Martin, who showed him many evidences of his confidence and friendship.⁸¹ Pope Martin in the same year (1422) issued a permit to practice to Vitale de Graziano. When Cardinal Peter of Fonesca in 1422 was seriously injured by an accident, a Jewish physician of Rome was called to Vicovaro to treat him. There is a record in the papal archives of the same year

⁷⁶ Stern, vol. i, p. 26.

⁷⁷ Stern, vol. i, p. 25. Safe conduct, *i. e.*, freedom to travel and exemption from all taxes.

⁷⁸ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 7; Stern, vol. i, p. 25; “The Jewish Encyclopedia,” article Elijah Alamannus.

⁷⁹ Stern, vol. i, p. 29.

⁸⁰ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 5.

⁸¹ Stern, vol. i, p. 36.

of the payment of a sum "for the travelling expenses of the Jewish physician." The pope showed great confidence in his physician Leucius, son of Angelo. In 1426 he ordered the physician Maestro Leucius to settle with full power the quarrels in the Jewish Community of Rome.⁸² We find Pope Martin in 1428 granting the physician Vitale, son of Graziano permission to treat Catholics wherever he pleases.⁸³

An episode occurred at this time which should be related. During the political struggle of the period when Ladislaus, King of Naples held Rome (on June 1, 1428) a Jewish physician Moses, who had recently been appointed court physician to King Wenzel of Bohemia was murdered. Another physician Helia, also a Jew, was arrested, tried by torture and thus "confessing" was convicted.⁸⁴

Pope Martin V continued his friendly and beneficent attitude to the Jews until his death in 1431. In his bull of 1429, a document issued at the request of a Jewish deputation sent by the third synod, held in Florence in 1428⁸⁵ and kept in grateful remembrance by the Jews for many centuries, the Jews were placed under the general civil law, were protected from forced baptism, given many privileges, relieved from certain taxes, and permitted to engage freely in commerce, and even to teach at the schools.⁸⁶ It is related that he invited the distinguished scholar and traveler, Aaron ben Gershon Abulrabi of Catania, who spent a short time in Rome, to his palace, for a discourse and discussion concerning Cherubim, at which he and his cardinals were present.⁸⁷

Elijah di Sabbato became the court physician of Pope Martin's successor, Eugenius IV (1431-1447) who continued

⁸² Stern, vol. i, p. 38.

⁸³ Stern, vol. i, p. 38.

⁸⁴ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. i, p. 322.

⁸⁵ Margulies, *Rivista Israelitica*, vol. ii, pp. 169-78.

⁸⁶ Stern, vol. i, pp. 38-42; Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 8.

⁸⁷ Abulrabi narrates the incident in his super-commentary on Rashi to Exodus 25. See *Rev. et. juiv.*, xxi, p. 250.

friendly relation with the physician, and the favorable status which the Jews had enjoyed under Martin; in 1433 and 1434 he confirmed the protection, the citizenship and the pension which Martin had granted. The attitude of the pope is seen to be all the more tolerant when placed in comparison with the action of the Oecumenical Council of Basle which was held at this time (1434). The prominent position occupied by Jewish physicians may be the reason that the council enacted that

no Jew shall be appointed public physician nor official, nor shall any Jew receive an academic degree.

The church⁸⁸ councils of this century thus continued to repeat the old injunctions. This council issued decrees

prohibiting Christians for holding intercourse with Jews, from rendering them services, and from employing them as physicians, excluding them from offices and dignities, imposing upon them a distinctive garb, and ordering them to live in special Jew-quarters.⁸⁹

The inimical attitude of the clergy at this time is well seen in the utterances of Saint Bernardin of Siena, (1380-1444), "the prince of preachers of his day" and vicar-general of the Order of St. Francis in Italy, who in his denunciations of the Jews said:

They destroy the bodily health and life [of Christians] and contrary to all laws of the church,—take control of medical practice. It is most remarkable that the Christians choose them in spite of their ignorance and lack of education, and show greater confidence in them than in the most experienced Christian physicians. But God knows that the ignorance and wickedness of the Jews does injury to Christians. They rob them of their spiritual possessions, their faith and their obedience to the church, through their poisoned flatteries, forced kindnesses, death dealing gifts, hypocritical intercourse, well planned treachery.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Hefele, vol. ii, p. 589.

⁸⁹ Graetz, vol. iv, p. 245.

⁹⁰ Güdemann, vol. ii, p. 262.

Pope Eugene IV (1431-1447) in his first bull forbade any injury to the Jews, but in 1442 his attitude showed a change and he decreed many restrictions such as the prohibition of the study of the civil law, engaging in handicrafts, etc. He ordered

that Christians should not eat, drink, bathe, or live with Jews (or Mohammedans), nor use medicines of any kind purveyed by them. . . . Christians should certainly abstain from the medicines of Jewish or Moorish physicians, unless compounded by Christian hands; but this did not mean that skillful doctors of the Jewish or the Mohametan faith should not be consulted, or their medicines not used, when no Christian physician was available.⁹¹

This change from the benevolent attitude in the early years of his pontificate to marked hostility was brought about perhaps by the Council of Basle and by his bitter political experiences. The provisions of the bull were soon extended to the Jews of the whole of Italy. As a result, many of the Jews of the Papal States left and took up their abode in Mantua under Duke John Francis, who assured them their much needed rights. The pope was finally induced through a large gift of money to repeal the bull.⁹²

The condition of the Jewish community in Rome became such that it was obliged to seek the help of other Jewish communities. It was Moses ben Isaac, later court physician to Pope Pius II, who wrote a letter of appeal.⁹³

Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455),

continued the system of degrading and oppressing the Jews. As soon as he ascended the throne of St. Peter he devoted himself to abolishing the privileges of the Italian Jews, which Martin V. had confirmed . . . subjecting them to exceptional laws. In a bull, dated June 23, 1447, he repeated for Italy the restrictions which his predecessor had formulated for Castile, re-enacting them in the fullest detail. . . . But though Nicholas' bull was

⁹¹ Graetz, vol. iv, pp. 250, 252.

⁹² Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 13.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

only a copy, it had much more real force than the original; for its execution was confided to the pitiless Jew-hater and heretic-hunter John of Capistrano. On him devolved the duty of seeing, either in person, or through his brother Franciscans, that the provisions of the bull were literally obeyed, and infractions strictly punished. *If, for example, a Jewish physician provided a suffering Christian with the means of regaining health, Capistrano was authorized to confiscate the whole of the offender's fortune and property.* And the saintly monk, with heart of stone, was just the man to visit such a transgression with unrelenting severity.⁹⁴

Nevertheless we find that Manuel ben Solomon of Cesena was granted permission to practice (1447).⁹⁵ In 1449 attacked by the plague, the priest Stefano Gaffari was operated upon by a Jewish and a Christian physician. The bull of Nicholas V (1446-1455) of 1449 repeals all privileges of Jews and Saracens

because of complaints that the Jews make use of their rights to the great curse of Christianity and do much that is disgraceful and ruinous to the souls.

It prohibits taking any medicine from them.⁹⁶

At the request of the city authorities of Corneto Pope Nicholas V permitted the Jewish physician Dactilus and his son Guilielmus to practice in Corneto, Montalto and Civita Vecchio, conditionally

that they give no dangerous medicine before the patient has received the holy sacrament according to the rules of the Church.⁹⁷

The Jewish community suffered greatly during his reign. In 1452 a money crisis occurred, and the pope cancelled all proceedings against the Jews for old debts. The condition of the Jews became aggravated to a frightful degree under Calixtus III (1455-1458). Again they were deprived of all

⁹⁴ Graetz, vol. iv, p. 253.

⁹⁵ Stern, vol. i, p. 65.

⁹⁶ Stern, vol. i, p. 51.

⁹⁷ Stern, vol. i, p. 57.

their rights and reduced to a condition of great misery. Jewish physicians were again forbidden to treat Christians, and Christians were prohibited from employing Jewish physicians or having intimate association with the Jews.⁹⁸

During the pontificate of Julius II (1458-64) there was again a Jewish Court physician to the pope. He was Moses ben Isaac of Rieti (1388-1460) the son of Master Gajo, a famous poet and a scholar, who like many of his predecessors combined the offices of rabbi and physician.⁹⁹

Pope Paul II in 1464 in revising the statutes of the city exempted Jewish physicians from the necessity of wearing the red tabard.¹⁰⁰ It is evident that the efforts at harshly administering the laws prohibiting Jews from practicing medicine had not been successful.

During the reign of Sixtus IV (1471-1484) the community did not enjoy the same favors as during that of Paul II, but Sixtus gave evidence of a sense of justice and in order to protect the Jews from violence, he forbade the worship of the murdered child, Simon of Trent. He condemned the inhuman methods of the Inquisition and refused to grant its extension. Like a number of his predecessors he selected a Jew Maestro Solomon as court physician.¹⁰¹ In 1473 he granted permission to Astruc de Balmes in Naples to practice medicine among Christians and 1474 he gave a similar grant to Leo, master of arts and medicine.¹⁰²

In the history of the Jews of Spain we shall learn that Pope Sixtus IV, signed a bull in May, 1484, in which he remarks upon the freedom enjoyed by the Jews especially in Andulasia, gives among other evidences the fact that "their physicians and pharmacists are employed by the Christians"

⁹⁸ Hefele, vol. viii, p. 84.

⁹⁹ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 69; Stern, vol. i, p. 64.

¹⁰⁰ Berliner, vol. ii, part 1, p. 78; Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 17.

¹⁰¹ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 19.

¹⁰² Stern, vol. i, p. 65.

all of which he finds constitutes "a shame for Christianity as well as a danger because they lead astray the simple souls, etc.," and he therefore "revoked all their privileges without exception."¹⁰³

About this time (1476) there was a severe outbreak of the plague and it was claimed that an efficient remedy was discovered by a Jew. The claim was premature. It was more than 400 years later that another Jew, Haffkine, made important discoveries in the preventive treatment of bubonic plague.

Innocent VIII (1484-92) did not improve the conditions of violence and wrong doing of the time. His death has been surrounded by a legend that a Jewish physician trying to save his life infused blood from three boys of ten years of age and that all the boys and the pope died. This story has recently been proved false but it is true that Innocent had shown favor to Jewish physicians and had granted the privilege to Abram di Mayr de Balmes of Lecce to be graduated in medicine in Naples and there to practice without regard to person (1492).¹⁰⁴ The influx of new-comers, Jews and Maranos, from various places and lands where oppression was becoming unendurable continued; they came especially from Spain as the result of the Inquisition and later of the expulsion, from Sicily and still later from Provence; as a consequence, the importance of the native Jews gradually diminished and the others took precedence, each community holding itself apart. With these new settlers who were accorded a favorable reception by Pope Alexander VI, there came men of high distinction such as the physician Bonet de Lattes (Jacob ben Immanuel Provinciale). He was granted the rights of

¹⁰³ *R. E. J.*, xxii, 105.

¹⁰⁴ *Stern*, vol. i, p. 67; Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 23. The story in detail by H. M. Brown in his "Beginnings of Intravenous Medication" in the *Annals of Medical History*, No. 2, p. 187, but without reference to the later studies of Boncampagni cited in Vogelstein and Rieger.

medical practice by the pope¹⁰⁵ who appointed him court physician, while the Roman community chose him as their rabbi. The pope made him the judge of highest appeal for the community in Rome. He was likewise distinguished as an astronomer and published an important astronomical invention.¹⁰⁶

Pope Alexander VI treated the Maranos with especial kindness in spite of the request to the contrary on the part of a Spanish delegation, and in spite of the fact that they were suffering from an infectious disease (about 1492).^{106a}

The entry of Charles VIII into Rome, and the frightful outrages perpetrated by the soldiers produced a condition of terror in Rome. Charles ordered that Jews should wear for their protection white crosses sewed on the shoulders of their mantles. During this entire period the Jews suffered severely from the plague, from the uprisings and the excesses of soldiers during the wars, from the rapaciousness of officials and the clergy, and from the violence of mobs. But this was not the exception but rather the rule of mediæval Jewish life; and it must be admitted that the Roman community was spared some of the trials which fell to the lot of others such as the massacres following the fictitious charge of poisoning wells and thus causing the plague, or the cowardly and brutal exterminating slaughter which marked the path of crusaders

¹⁰⁵ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 25. "Alexander had an extremely acute mind. He possessed skill, prudence. . . . And he took care to be treated by an expert physician." Egideus, Cardinal of Viterbo. See *ibid.*, p. 412.

¹⁰⁶ *Annulus astronomicus*, Rome, 1493. "An astronomical ring-dial by means of which solar and stellar altitudes can be measured and the time determined with great precision by night as well as by day. "The Jewish Encyclopedia."

^{106a} Much has been written about this. There are those who have tried to prove that it was syphilis and the cause of its great spread at that time. There is no doubt that the theory arose out of anti-Jewish hatred and no proof has ever been furnished. Proksch, *Ursprung der Syphilis*, in *Med.-Chir. Centralblatt*, 1877.

in other parts of Europe. The Jews of Rome suffered much at the hands of the church but the number of popes who protected them and showed them benevolent favor is not inconsiderable. The attitude of popes altered with each new pope and conditions were in a state of constant change; a brief respite was sure to be followed by severe repression and suffering.

The life of Amatus (Chabib) Lusitanus is indicative of their condition during the sixteenth century and of the barriers set up in the way of the progress or even of the bare existence of Jewish physicians. To quote Withington:¹⁰⁷

One of the most famous physicians of the sixteenth century was Amatus Lusitanus, a Portuguese Jew, who, with some hundreds of his nation had been forcibly baptised in childhood. He continued, however, to practice the religion of his ancestors in secret, and might perhaps have done so in security had he not published a commentary on Dioscorides, pointing out the mistakes in the famous edition of that author, by Matthioli of Siena; and the enraged botanist, unable to refute his adversary, loudly accused him of apostasy.¹⁰⁸ We have seen how Saladin's judges treated a similar charge in the case of Maimonides; but the Christian theologians thought differently, and they hunted the unfortunate Amatus from place to place like a wild animal, till he found refuge at last among the Turks at Salonica.

Amatus was born in 1511 and studied medicine in Salamanca.¹⁰⁹ Owing to the Inquisition as noted above, he was

¹⁰⁷ "Medical History," p. 291.

¹⁰⁸ In his *Apologia adversus Amatum Lusitanum cum Censura in ejusdem enarrationes*, etc., 1557, Peter Andrea Matthiolus writes (p. 10) concerning Amatus: "But it seems truly wonderful that he should have sullied our and his religion with every misdeed, dishonored it with shame and made himself guilty of crime towards it, and that for such reason only should he have lived as exile from his native Portugal, because here he fought so sharply for those monks who most of all persecuted the whole race of Jews. . . ." Amatus published his work on Dioscorides in 1533 and left Portugal soon afterwards.

¹⁰⁹ His younger brother Elie Montalto likewise acquired fame in the profession of medicine.

forced to leave and in 1536 we find him in Antwerp where he published a medical work. We next meet him in Venice where he was associated with the distinguished physician Jacob Mantino and later in Ferrara (1546) where he taught medicine. His reputation must have been great and extensive for the then king of Poland invited him to become his court physician, but he declined and went to Ancona (1549) which was at that time most hospitable toward Jews. There he renounced his Marano name, Joao Rodrigo de Castel-Bianco and resumed his family name and professed Judaism. He was called on to attend the sister of the Pope Julius III and prescribed for the pope himself. His fame had reached distant lands and we learn that a Jew of Constantinople came to Ancona to be treated by Amatus. In 1551 he was summoned to the bedside of Pope Julius in Rome and frequently returned to this city where he finished several medical writings, residing at the home of Alphonsus Alencastrensis. But the edict of Pope Paul IV directed against the Maranos cost him the loss of all his property as well as of numerous MSS., only one of which he subsequently recovered, and forced him to seek refuge in Pesaro. Soon afterwards he received and accepted an invitation from the city of Ragusa to practice medicine there. Here he continued his medical writings. But his evil fortune pursued him and forced him to leave. He settled in Salonica in Turkey about 1558 where the Jews had received an open welcome. Here he again became devoted to medical practice and writing. He died there in 1568 of the plague. To realize the tragedy of such a life means to realize the tragedy of his people, driven from place to place, seeking safety and protection, and yet holding aloft their banner of hope and faith and love for mankind. We need but read the "oath" with which he closes his seventh "century" of medical histories, to learn that all the suffering

he was obliged to bear did not crush the high ideality of his character.¹¹⁰

No less tragic than the life of Amatus was that of his distinguished contemporary, David ben Isaac de Pomis, a descendent of one of the oldest Jewish families in Rome. He was born in Spoleto in 1525. He studied in Perugia, where he took the degree of doctor of medicine and philosophy, in 1551. He practiced medicine in Magliano where he was likewise rabbi for a few years but he was forced to leave, losing all he possessed because of the cruel decrees of Paul IV. He next spent five years with Duke Nicholas Orsini (1555-60) and three with the Sforza family. Conditions having improved, he secured an audience from Pope Pius IV and the college of cardinals and after an address in Latin, graciously obtained consent to settle in Chiusi and to engage in the practice of medicine among Christians. This grant was soon annulled for the pope died a week later (1565). De Pomis then went to Ancona and later tried to get permission to settle in Venice. In the meantime he wrote his Hebrew and Aramaic dictionary (into Latin and Italian) dedicating it to Pope Sixtus V (1587). He had previously written a number of exegetical as well as medical works. In 1593 he again obtained permission to practice but he died in the same year.

In 1588 he published in Venice his *De Medico Hebraeo Enarratio Apologetica*, a defense of medical practice and especially of the Jewish physician, which because of its lofty attitude received the praise of distinguished contemporaries and remains a monument to his high minded and noble character as well as to Judaism which he so ably defended.

¹¹⁰ Vogelstein and Riéger, vol. ii, p. 257; Graetz, vol. iv, p. 569. Lemos, *Amato Lusitano*; for translation of the "oath," see Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin, August, 1917.

Having obtained a picture of the condition of the times in the lives of two distinguished physicians we may now return to our narrative.¹¹¹

During the sixteenth century Jewish physicians continued to hold their prominent position in Rome. Julius II (1503-1513) was greeted on his accession in traditional manner—by a Jewish deputation, presenting the Holy Scrolls. The head of the deputation was Rabbi Samuel Zarfati, the papal court physician, to whom Pope Julius confirmed in 1504 the rights granted him by Pope Alexander VI as *artium et medicinæ doctor* to treat Christians,¹¹² and he conferred the same upon his son Joseph as well as relief from all taxes and the protection conferred by the king, of his property in France together with the right to travel and reside there. The pope took him under his papal protection and relieved him and his entire family, his servants and his property from the supervision and jurisdiction of the officials, granted him permission to live wherever he chose, to follow his religious customs undisturbed, to hold religious services at home, and to dispense with the Jewish badge.¹¹³ Pope Alexander granted him the right to bestow the degree of medicine upon others.

During the pontificate of Julius II Jews from Naples and Jews from the Barbary States were allowed to settle in Rome. In 1507, we find the record that the pope permitted the distinguished surgeon and physician, the Jew Alentius, his wife and daughter, to dress like Christians.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ For an interesting account see *La communauté juive à Rome aux temps de Jules II et Léon X*, by Rodocamachi, in *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. lxi, p. 72.

¹¹² The papal account books show that Zarfati received a fee of 125 gold scudi in 1505. Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 84.

¹¹³ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, pp. 30, 37; Stern, vol. i, p. 68; Berliner, vol. ii, part 1, pp. 78-81. It is suggested that Samuel is identical with the court physician of the French king in 1500 and his son Joseph with the one to whom the grant was given to wear the black baretta in 1502.

¹¹⁴ Stern, vol. i, p. 72.

An interesting incident illustrating the confidence reposed by the pope in his Jewish physician is narrated concerning Pope Julius II in 1510. His Christian physicians urged his taking rhubarb against the advice of Samuel Zarfati. The former promised to cure him in six days if he would follow their advice. "But the pope placed his trust in the Jewish rabbi and not in others; the Jew telling him that he was really not ill at all." During the serious illness of the pope in 1511, when the other physicians had given up all hope and the court officials had begun their plunder of the papal chambers, it was Samuel alone who refused to surrender, thus drawing upon himself the rage of his colleague who contemptuously cried that "if the pope died it was the rabbi's disgraceful fault." He answered only that it was still possible for his Holiness to recover which he did. When he died a year and a half later the bitter hatred toward the physician again showed itself, and his home was plundered. But he retained the public confidence and in the same year was called upon to treat the Marquis di la Padula in Rome and two years later he was court physician of Guiliano de Medici of Florence "who dismissed all his other physicians."¹¹⁵

The Pontificate of Leo X (1513-1522) was a prosperous one for the Jews. He assured them their legal rights, granted numerous privileges, protected them on a number of occasions. Conditions were so favorable that the community thought the Redemption was being ushered in and a commission was sent toward the close of his reign to Jerusalem to make inquiry whether the advent of the Messiah was not drawing near. Bonet de Lattes enjoyed the confidence of the pope to such degree that Reuchlin of Germany, who had studied Hebrew under Jacob Loans, court physician of the German emperor, Frederick III, later received instruction from another Jewish physician and scholar of Rome and Bologna,

¹¹⁵ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 84, 85.

the famous commentator Obadja (or Servadeus) de Sforno (1470-1550) sought to influence the pope through his help.¹¹⁶ The great controversy between Reuchlin and Pfefferkorn, the convert and denunciator of his people, occurred during Leo's reign.¹¹⁷ The influence of Bonet de Lattes made itself felt. Pope Leo confirmed to him and to his son Joseph all the rights and privileges previously granted them.¹¹⁸ His son Immanuel (1515) was also employed by the pope, as translator from Hebrew to Latin.¹¹⁹

Adrian VI (1522-1523) continued the kindly relations established by Leo X as did his successor Clement VII (1523-1534). The rights of the physician Joseph, the son of Bonet de Lattes granted by Pope Julius II and by Pope Leo X to his father, were

confirmed gladly because he gave promise of no less of nobility of character or of medical knowledge than his deceased father (1524).

He was permitted to have others beside his family attend services at his home but not to build a synagogue.¹²⁰ Clement also chose Isaac Zarfati, who had been successful in the treatment of a number of members of the court and of friends of the pope, as court physician and familiar and gave him the right to freely practice medicine (1530).¹²¹ Two other Jewish physicians Abraham ha Cohen and Jehuda di Rodez were likewise held in high honor and were men of powerful influence at the courts of Pope Clement and King Francis. It is suggested that Abraham ha Cohen is identical with Abraham Arje the son of Guglielmo de Portaleone to whom the Pope wrote on several occasions, in one letter (1525) thanking him

¹¹⁶ Graetz, *Geschichte*, second edition, vol. ix, p. 538, note 2.

¹¹⁷ Ludwig Geiger, *Reuchlin*; Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, pp. 33, 34.

¹¹⁸ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 35.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

¹²⁰ Stern, vol. i, p. 74.

¹²¹ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 39; Stern, vol. i, pp. 75, 76.

for treating Giovanni de Medici (G. delle Bande Nere) who had suffered a gunshot injury. He likewise thanked the duke of Mantua for sending Abraham to the patient.¹²² We do not meet with Jewish surgeons frequently. The practice of surgery was attended with serious risks as is seen in the following story related by Withington, as evidence of the perils of surgical practice during the Middle Ages:

One result of the law [holding the physician or surgeon responsible for the result of treatment] was that practitioners refused to undertake dangerous cases at all, unless either the patient agreed to consider himself dead already, or his friends gave surety that they should not be held responsible for failure. About A. D. 1250, a nobleman of Bologna was injured in the side so severely that a portion of his lung protruded through the wound. For some time no one could be found to undertake the case, till at last an appeal was made to the two most famous operators of the age, Hugh of Lucca, and Roland of Parma. Those intrepid surgeons, having obtained permission of the bishop, and taken an oath from thirty of the patient's friends that no harm should happen to them, boldly excised the protruded lung and applied a consolidative powder. The patient recovered, and went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. ("Medical History," p. 227.)

Pope Clement granted the right to practice medicine to Joseph, the son of Deodatus of Nola, a Jew in Budrio in the province of Bologna, (1530), likewise to Isaac ha Kohen son of Solomon of Janua (1530) and to Solomon in Rimini (1530) with the right to dress like Christians.¹²³

During the pontificate of Adrian there was a frightful pestilence which carried off 28,000 victims; an anti-Jewish riot occurred during which four Jews were murdered. The community also passed through another severe trial, in 1527. The Spanish German army of Charles IV advanced against Rome and entered the city. A butchery began which lasted three weeks, succeeded by a pestilence which in the course of two or three months removed 100,000 people. Under the kind

¹²² Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 39. See under Mantua.

¹²³ Stern, vol. i, pp. 75, 76.

treatment of Pope Clement VII, the community rapidly recovered from the injuries it has suffered. In the latter years of his pontificate he showed his very tolerant attitude toward the Jews by issuing bulls for their protection (1533).

Joseph, the son of Samuel Zarfati was physician, philologist, mathematician and philosopher. His license of 1504 was renewed after the death of his father in 1524.¹²⁴ On this occasion Pope Leo X stated in the patent that "Joseph was no less magnanimous and no less skilful than his father."¹²⁵

After the frightful ravages of the plague and the more cruel excesses of the soldiery the pope in 1528 returned to Rome. It was about this time (1530) that the effort was made by King Henry VIII to secure a divorce from Catherine of Aragon and among the Jewish scholars whose aid was sought there were several physicians; Elijah Menahem (Helias) Halfon and Jacob Mantino and Marco Calo Kalonymos.¹²⁶

The efforts of the English King Henry VIII. to get rid of his wife Catherine on the pretext that their marriage was contrary to the Biblical law, and that the dispensation obtained from Pope Julius II. was invalid, involved Mantino in difficulties. Henry sent Richard Croke to Italy in order to obtain opinions favorable to his case, and the latter addressed himself to Jewish as well as to Christian scholars. Pope Clement VII., in his turn, consulted Mantino who decided against Henry. This decision created many enemies for Mantino in Venice, where Croke had won a favor-

¹²⁴ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 86.

¹²⁵ "In the latter part of his life Joseph met with many misfortunes. An unfaithful servant fled to Constantinople with all his savings. Joseph pursued him thither, but was accused by the thief as a spy of the pope, and had to seek safety in flight. During the siege of Rome in 1527 Joseph was attacked by four robbers. He succeeded in escaping; but while endeavoring to reach Vicovaro he was stricken with the plague. Refused entrance to the city, he died without assistance in the open field." "The Jewish Encyclopedia."

¹²⁶ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, pp. 52, 53.

able opinion from the famous physician, poet and Talmudic scholar Elijah Manehem Halfon, among others.¹²⁷

Under Paul III (1534-49) the Jews enjoyed even greater favors, indeed his kindness to the Jews aroused severe criticism.¹²⁸ His court physician was Jacob Mantino mentioned above.

Jacob ben Samuel Mantino of Tortosa, an exile from Spain in 1492 came to Italy in his childhood and studied medicine in Padua and Bologna. He began his medical practice in the latter city where he also produced several medical translations. Because of the war of 1527 he was obliged to leave Bologna and settled in Verona, where he enjoyed the protection of Bishop Giberti. In the following year he went to Venice, where he had been granted by the authorities of Venice the privilege of dispensing with the Jewish garb, and in 1529 the Bishop of Verona urged that he be allowed to wear the black berretta, for he was "an able physician and an excellent man"; this appeal was sustained by the French and English ministers,—and the concession was granted after four months delay by a vote of ten against seven, but it appears to have been granted for only a short period.¹²⁹

At the expiration of the prescribed term Mantino found an influential protector in (his patient) Theodore Trivulce, marshal of France and governor of Genoa who, urging his own services to the Venetian Republic, insisted that the council should make the exemption perpetual.¹³⁰

In consequence of quarrels resulting from the part he took in the affair of Henry VIII, Mantino left Venice

¹²⁷ "The Jewish Encyclopedia," article Mantino; Kaufmann, *Jacob Mantino, Revue des Études juives*, vol. xxvii, p. 30.

¹²⁸ Stern, vol. i, p. 85. In 1541 Paul III granted the Jewish physician Maestro Sabbato and his father-in-law permission to found a bank.

¹²⁹ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, pp. 94-97; Berliner, vol. ii, part 1, p. 83.

¹³⁰ "The Jewish Encyclopedia."

and went to Rome in 1533 and Pope Paul III selected him on his accession in 1534 as his court physician, and later in 1539 appointed him professor of medicine at the University of Rome; his name appears as Guicomo Ebreo; it is not known how long he taught there, except that his name is not on the register in 1542.¹³¹

As physician to the pope he enjoyed his confidence and was thus able to secure aid and protection for the Jewish community. He acted as one of the rabbis and is mentioned in the Jewish records with the high title of *Gaon*.

It is stated by Fürst¹³² that Mantino lost favor with the pope in 1539 as a consequence of the intrigues and denunciation of the Jew baiter Cardinal Sadolet who charged that the pope showed greater consideration for Jews than for Christians and that it was only through Jewish influence that one could attain to either civil or ecclesiastical honors. In 1542 the pope yielding to this influence issued a bull annulling all exceptional privileges which emperors or kings had made contrary to the papal decrees. A year later, however, the old privileges were renewed. In 1544 Mantino returned to Venice at the request of Amatus to work at his translation of Avicenna. He was again freed from the obligation of wearing the Jewish hat, and in 1546 he was accorded the privilege of wearing the black berretta for two months. In 1549 he accompanied the Venetian ambassador to Damascus where he died soon after his arrival. His sons resided in Rome, Samuel following in the profession of his father.¹³³

¹³¹ Jacob Mantino is identical with the Guicomo—Jacob mentioned by Marini, *Degli archiatri pontifici*, 1784, and by Renazzi, *Storia dell'universita degli studi di Roma*; see Berliner, vol. ii, part 1, p. 126.

¹³² *Beiträge zur Geschichte der jüdischen Aerzte—in Italien*, in *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Juden*, Leipzig, 1861, pp. 339, 340.

¹³³ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, pp. 94-97; "The Jewish Encyclopedia," article Mantino.

During the reign of Paul III a Jewish physician Vitale became a convert and there is extant an elaborate description of the festive ceremony in the Vatican (1535).¹³⁴

Julius III became pope in 1550 and showed his tolerant attitude to the Jews by selecting as his court physician Theodorus de Sacerdotibus (Elieser Ha-Cohen de Viterbo),¹³⁵ equally distinguished as Talmudist and physician. The pope was also treated by Vitale (Jehiel Rehabiah) Alatino di Pomis of Spoleto and the distinguished Amatus Lusitanus, who had successfully treated his sister in Ancona.¹³⁶ Vitale Alatino was likewise called to Perugia to treat the celebrated anatomist Bartolomeo Eustacchio. Julius III called together the medical faculty in Padua to examine Leone Benaja and confer

¹³⁴ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, pp. 61, 63, 64. A few cases are recorded of Jewish physicians becoming converts and the public ceremony of their baptism was usually attended with much display and pomp. For account of such baptismal ceremony see *ibid.*, p. 167. Todros Cohen, a native of France, came to Italy with a Spanish duke whose physician he was, and whom he accompanied during the siege of Florence by the imperial troops in 1530. He settled in Florence and later embraced Christianity assuming the name of Ludovicus Carretus. In 1553 he published a Hebrew epistle to the Jews urging them to conversion. In 1556 Elijah ben Manahem di Nola, descended from an old Roman family, his father having been a physician and a man of great means, was one of the most prominent converts. He took the name Giovanni Paulo Eustachio. He must not be confused with the famous physician Elijah ben Joseph de Nola of Bologna (died 1580), who translated into Hebrew the *Summa* of Aristotle's *Librorum VIII Physicorum* of Robert, Bishop of Lincoln. Kaufmann, *Revue des Etudes juives*, vol. xxxv, p. 296. Another noteworthy case was that of Mordecai, the son of the physician Samuel ben Mordecai Gabbai who had studied medicine in Rome where he had received his degree and was "physician of his community." At the age of 32 in 1683, he and his entire family were baptised. See Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, pp. 219, 283, 284, 289.

¹³⁵ Stern, vol. i, p. 94.

¹³⁶ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 144.

upon him the degree of doctor of medicine.¹³⁷ On the other hand he gave his sanction to the burning of the Talmudic works, which was carried out on the Jewish New Year, an act of atrocious spoliation producing such profound bereavement, as only they can understand who know how intimately the life of Jewry was interwoven with these holy writings.

In 1555 Pope Paul IV began his pontificate. A long period of great reaction and decay now set in lasting till the end of the eighteenth century, marked by religious fanaticism and persecution and the sufferings of the Jewish community increased in corresponding measure.¹³⁸ In bulls issued in 1555, Paul put into execution all the prohibitions, restrictions and acts of humiliation which his predecessors had ever enacted or suggested. The ghetto was established and provided with its gates. All the Jews who had previously resided in other parts of the city (though most had lived in certain quarters) were forced to live in one street and to sell all their property outside it. The wearing of the yellow cap for men and the yellow head-shawl for women was insisted upon. David de Ascoli the author of a learned work *Apologia Hebraeorum*, (published at Strasbourg in 1559) protesting against it, was condemned to prison. Nothing will serve as a better indication of the humiliation intended than the order that Jews dare not permit themselves to be addressed as Sir (*dominus*).¹³⁹ But it is not necessary to recount here the long list of hostile enactments affecting those whom he described as "damned by God because of their own sins, to eternal slavery." We need only mention that Jewish physicians were prohibited from treating Christian patients, they were forbidden to respond even when called, and it is probable that with characteristic rigor and severity this rule was now enforced.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 145.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

¹³⁹ Fürst, p. 353; with citation from bull, p. 373.

¹⁴⁰ Berliner, vol. ii, part 2, pp. 4, 6.

Pius IV (1559-1565) who succeeded Paul IV was quite unlike his predecessor. He revoked many of his enactments. Jewish physicians of ability and repute were again found in Rome. His successor Pius V (1566-1572), the Grand Inquisitor, returned to the severe measures of Paul IV in his treatment of the Jews. In 1569 he expelled all the Jews from the Papal States, with the exception of those in Rome and Ancona.

Gregory XIII (1572-85) permitted the Jews to return to his realm. But the Jews suffered greatly. In 1572 the soldiers attacked the ghetto. The hatred of the mob was seen in the carnivals when Jews were compelled to run naked for a prize and were bespattered with mud. In 1577 the pope issued a decree that the Jews should attend sermon in church every Sabbath, and he extended the powers of the Inquisition, acts which continued their harmful influence for two centuries.

Gregory XIII, finding that the previous decrees against the medical practice of Jews among Christians were generally disregarded, punished not only the Jewish physician but the Christian patient as well.¹⁴¹ This papal bull of Gregory XIII was published in 1581, and printed in 1584; a copy is to be found at the Library of the Surgeon General of the United States Army, Washington. It runs as follows:

LETTER

Of our most reverend father, Pope Gregory XIII, renewing the decrees of Paul the Fourth and Pius the Fifth against the Jewish Physicians, and the extension of those decrees to those who call or admit Jewish Physicians or infidels to the cure of Christians, or who grant to these same permission to practise the healing art.

POPE GREGORY XIII.

For the perpetual remembrance of the matter.

Pope Paul IV our predecessor, by a perpetual edict which he put forth, decreed, among other things, that Jewish Physicians,

¹⁴¹ Graetz, vol. iv, p. 653.

even when called and summoned, might not come to the cure of sick Christians, nor take a share in it: and afterward Pope Pius V, likewise our predecessor, by means of letters of his own, approved, renewed, and confirmed this edict, and decreed that it have perpetual force: and he desired, and under the threat of divine judgment he directed and commanded, that everything contained in the same edict be rigidly observed not only in the Lands and Dominions subject to the Holy Roman Church, but even in all places. Since it has been noticed by us, not without great indignation on our part, that these things are very little observed, but that there are even many Christians who, while they wish their bodily ailments to be cured by unlawful means, and especially by the services of Jews and other infidels, are made unmindful of the true safety of their souls and bodies, and, (what is very much to be deplored) often fall into very great danger of eternal damnation by summoning and inviting to treat them Jewish physicians and infidels of that sort: whence it comes about that both to the Jews and to the other infidels great opportunity is given for transgressing, and at the same time there is neglected that salutary precept formerly put forth in the general Council by Pope Innocent III, and afterwards renewed by the aforesaid Pius V, that all physicians, when they had been called in to people who were sick in bed, should warn them before everything else to confess all their sins to a suitable confessor according to the usage of the Holy Roman Church, and that on the third day they should no longer visit them, unless the confessor had granted to the sick man a longer time because of some reasonable cause about which his conscience was troubled, and assurance was given them on the faith of the confessor made in writing that the sick men had confessed their sins. Therefore, wishing to restrain both the Jews who dare to act in opposition to papal commands of this sort, and the Christians who summon them to themselves or give them liberty to practise medicine, and thus open the way to these same for transgressing, we approve, confirm, and renew by our papal authority by the contents of these presents the aforesaid decrees of our predecessors, and order them to be inviolably observed, and by this our edict which will have perpetual force, adding to these same decrees and commands for their better observance, we strictly forbid and prohibit all Christians of either sex hereafter to call or admit, or cause, allow or permit to be called or admitted any Jews or other infidels to the cure of sick and ailing Christians. Therefore we commend

collectively and individually all our reverend brothers, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops and Bishops, and besides our other beloved sons the ordinates of places, and all Purveyors and others having the care of souls, under penalty of our indignation and under other penalties to be inflicted according to our judgment, to publish or cause to be published this our present letter in their churches which have been constituted in those states or dioceses in which Hebrews or other infidels are staying, as soon as they shall have been brought to them, and thereafter every year at the beginning of Lent, and that if after their publication any one, even if in any way exempt, and of whatever position, grade, order, condition, or preeminence he may be, shall have dared to act in opposition to them, let the sacraments of the church in no wise be administered to him, not even by those regularly exempt: and if he should die thus, let him not have christian burial; and let them not neglect to notify the sick men of the parish of these things at an appropriate time, especially when they shall have known that a Jewish or other infidel physician has been admitted by them, and furthermore, let the ordinaries themselves of places take due measures of punishment against the violators of this command: and as for the Jews themselves, let them none the less be punished in proportion to their transgressions according to the letters of the aforesaid Pontiffs Paul and Pius issued against them. Those decrees and papal ordinances which are not in opposition to this, and all those things which the same Paul and Pius in their aforesaid letters desired should not offer opposition, also privileges, indults, and papal letters to any persons, even to those regularly privileged and exempt, and to all their orders and congregations with whatever contents and under whatever forms, even the Great Sea, or those constituted with the golden bull, and with whatever clauses and decrees of any sort or kind, and all things whatever which have in any way at any time been granted, approved and renewed in opposition to this, even if of them and of their contents and forms special, specific, express, and individual mention or some other expression ought to have been made, or some other special form observed for this, considering their contents as sufficiently expressed in these presents just as if they had been inserted word for word, with nothing wholly omitted, and keeping the form handed down in them, all these things shall otherwise remain in force, except that with this change we expressly and specially amend them. Or if to any persons publicly or privately an indult shall have

been granted from the papal throne that they cannot be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated by papal letters which do not make full, and express, and word for word mention of an indult of this kind. And since it might be difficult to send these same presents to each separate place, we wish and declare that to the copies of these even those which have been printed, which have been signed by the hand of some Notary public and attested by the seal of some person in holy orders, the same respect be paid as would have been paid to these presents if they had been exhibited or shown. Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the Ring of the Fisherman, on the 30th day of March, 1581. In the Ninth Year of our Pontificate.

CAE. GLOEIERIUS.

In the fifteen hundred and eighty-first year after the birth of our Lord, in the Ninth Indiction, on the fifth day of the Month of April, in the ninth year of the Pontificate of our most reverend Father in Christ and Lord, D. Gregory XIII, Pope by divine providence, the papal letter formerly received, was affixed and published on the door of the papal Chancellery, and on the corner of the Campo dei Fiori by me, Peter Aloysius Gayta courier of the same most reverend lord, the Pope.

PETER STOCH, *Chief Courier.*

Quackery appears to have thrived in the Jewish community during the sixteenth century. Amulets and love philters were dealt in. But there are lists of physicians and surgeons, regularly licensed, on record in 1551 and in the following years (excepting the period from 1564 to 1570) down to the end of the century. Many of them were compelled by papal degree to treat Jews only.¹⁴²

Under Pope Sixtus V (1585-90) the Jews were protected and it is not surprising to those who have followed the history of the popes to learn that he had Jewish court physicians, Astruco di Napoli and Manuele di Cesena.¹⁴³ He appears to have likewise had confidence in Jewish ability in matters of finance for his counsellor in such matters was a fugitive

¹⁴² Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 326.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

Marano from Portugal named Lopez.¹⁴⁴ He repealed the cruel restrictions and exile of Jews instituted by Pius V and granted licenses to Jewish physicians to treat Christians. Was he influenced by arguments of de Pomis? It is not unlikely. But de Pomis's death robbed him of the enjoyment of the rights for which he had so eloquently contended.

Gregory XIV (1591) granted permission to the Jewish physician Abraham di Portaleone to practice medicine. (See under heading "Mantua.")

In 1592 Pope Clement restricted the Jews from associating or doing business with Christians and converts, and in 1593 he ordered the expulsion of the Jews from the entire papal territory with the exception of Rome, Ancona, and Avignon. A new prohibition was now enforced forbidding Jews from having Christian physicians attend them at risk of heavy fine (1592).¹⁴⁵

In spite of this prohibition the following complimentary license for practising medicine of the same year has been found:¹⁴⁶

To you, Moses Alatinus of Spoleto, and to your son Bonaiutus, Jewish doctors of the arts and of medicine, a true knowledge of the faith and a spirit of saner counsel!

Having been inclined by the humble prayers lately extended to us in your name, and more than sufficiently informed of your faithfulness, fitness and experience touching the art of healing, and likewise moved by the testimony of the most reverend episcopal vicar and the most honorable pretor of the commonwealth of Ferrara, as well as of several noblemen and other men worthy of faith of the same commonwealth, who wished to do you a special favor in this regard: we now by mandate and authority etc. do proclaim that to you, who have formerly devoted yourselves to the public advantage of Christians in the version of Themistius, and who now are diligently devoting yourselves in

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 185.

¹⁴⁶ *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. xix, p. 134. The original Latin version is given there.

the version of the canon of Avicenna, and who for many years past have practised the art of medicine and of healing (as we hear) honorably and diligently, and have by your care and industry, under the favor of the Highest, restored ever so many sick to health, and in order that you may be able and be in a position to offer and provide physic that will be of benefit to the sick who intrust themselves to you, both Christians as well as Jews, in the said commonwealth and the whole dominion of the most august Duke of Ferrara, the Duke himself expressly consenting—we herewith give indulgence and grant and bestow license and privilege and we strictly injoin hereby upon the most reverend lord bishop of the said commonwealth, and upon his vicar general in matters spiritual and temporal, and upon all others whom it concerns or will concern in whatsoever may in the future, forbidding them, under pain of 1000 ducats of gold to be paid to the Apostolic office and for its use, and under ecclesiastical censures and other penalties within our will, from interfering with your practise of medicine in the manner mentioned, under the pretext that you are attending to Christian patients, or under any others opposed to the form of the present letters, and from troubling the Christian patients themselves committed to your care; let them not dare or presume, nor let any one of them dare or presume, at the instance of any Christian physicians whatsoever or of others, to molest, disquiet, vex, disturb or impede you, either in your person or in your property. Nay rather we wish and command that these patients shall be cured by you lawfully and without a scruple; otherwise etc. All constitutions and ordinances, apostolic and others, to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness of which etc. Given at Rome in the Apostolic office, on the XIXth day of the month of July 1592, in the first year of the pontificate of Pope Clement VIII.

HENRY CARDINAL CHAMBERLAIN,
Auditor Martini (?).

Not long after we again find that it was decreed that Jews should not receive permission to practice medicine (1599).¹⁴⁷

During the pontificate of Paul V (1605-1621) these regulations were still further defined (1615 and 1618). Jewish physicians were forbidden from preparing medicine for Chris-

¹⁴⁷ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 190.

tians or even from treating them together with Christian physicians;—infraction of this rule was punished by a fine of 25 *scudi* which both the Jewish physician and the Christian patient had to pay; and Christian physicians were to be allowed to serve the Jewish community only on special permission of the pope or the vice regent.¹⁴⁸ There was even a heavy fine imposed if a Christian instructed a Jew, or a Jew a Christian, in any art or science. The wearing of the yellow cap and shawl had evidently been neglected or they had been changed in their color for in 1629 it was decreed that its neglect would be punished by a fine of 50 *scudi* as well as at the whipping post,—and it must be remembered that this garb for females was reserved for Jewesses and prostitutes! Meanwhile the outrageous custom of forcing Jews to run naked in the public races during the carnival was continued. As a result of the severe persecution many were forced to leave and the Roman Jewish community was greatly diminished in numbers toward the end of the sixteenth century.

The first half of the seventeenth century is barren in respect to references to Jewish physicians and there are but few instances of Jews practicing medicine.¹⁴⁹ In the compilation of the regulations by popes and by the Roman Inquisition covering the years 1556-1659 we find the following:

§ 39. To Jews it was almost always denied to treat Christians (dated 1608 and 1631).

§ 64. To the Bishop of Zakynthus (Zante) and Kephallonia the right was granted to permit Jewish physicians to treat Christians in view of the scarcity of Christian physicians (dated 1640-1655).

§ 67. Jews, studying with Christians are punishable in the Holy Office. Thus it was written in the Inquisitions of Ferrara and Mantua" (dated 1659).¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 195.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 326.

¹⁵⁰ Stern, vol. i, pp. 176, 180, 181.

It would be interesting to discover what it was that had led to the popularity of Jewish physicians in Italy in spite of the general persecution of the Jews, in spite of the vast number of restrictions imposed upon them, in spite of decrees of church councils and of bulls prohibiting their employment and of bitter attacks and calumination. Popes, their officials, priests, monks and nuns sought the aid of Jewish physicians by preference.¹⁵¹

Selig Cassel suggests that it was due to superstition:

The confidence in Jewish physicians did not depend upon their special ability, it was rather due to the human tendency which led the suffering to those whom Christian opinion could least endure. It was superstition, which looked for superhuman and mysterious magic among the strangers and those of other belief just as had been the case in ancient Rome.¹⁵²

Güdemann finds the explanation for the popularity of Jewish physicians in their unselfish devotion to their art:

In spite of all, the Jewish physicians were beloved and were called to the huts of the poor, in the monasteries, in the court of popes, and the palaces of princes. This popularity is not solely due to their scientific thoroughness but was also founded upon their loyal devotion to their profession and their unselfishness;—this shown frequently and led to favorable opinion among Christians to Jews generally. F. Gentile da Foligno who was called in 1340 to Padua as professor died of the plague in 1348 according to his Christian colleague "because of too frequent attendance upon patients"—

and other cases are cited. The facts are proved by the rabid sermons delivered by fanatical priests which bear testimony to the popularity of the physicians and their humane manner.¹⁵³ To Graetz it appears that owing to the secret war-

¹⁵¹ Güdemann, *Erziehungswesen der Juden in Italien*, vol. ii, p. 154. He refers to papal physicians. Marini, *Degli archiatri pontifici*, Rome, 1784, vol. i, pp. 103, 107, 108, 134, 290, 367, 414, 417, 418; vol. ii, pp. 62, 249, 268, 297.

¹⁵² Ersch and Gruber, *supra*, p. 66.

¹⁵³ Güdemann, vol. ii, p. 237.

fare, the intrigues and the frequent one of poison, which, since Alexander, had been rife in the *curia*, where everyone looked on his companion as an enemy, Jewish physicians were in favor, because there was no danger of their offering a pope or cardinal a poisoned cup instead of a salutary remedy.¹⁵⁴ And Graetz maintains that in spite of the ancient school of medicine in Salerno, there were few able Christian physicians and inasmuch as the princes of the church paid more attention to the care of the body than to the purification of the soul, their doors were open to Jewish doctors of medicine.¹⁵⁵ There is abundant evidence of scarcity of physicians. It was referred to above in the grant made to the Bishop of Zakynthus and Kephalaria. In his letter to the pope in 1655 requesting permission to employ Portaleone as his physician the Duke of Mantua urged his point by the statement: "You know how rare are physicians in our city and state."¹⁵⁶ But no better evidence is needed than the reservation made at church councils after the most sweeping prohibition of medical practice by Jews:

That it is permissible to seek treatment from a Jewish physician when there is no other physician to be had and there is *excellens aliquis medicus in Judæis*.¹⁵⁷

In the second half of the seventeenth century we again meet with Jewish physicians. This is apparent in the story of the plague of 1656 which is described by a well known author and physician Jacob Zahalon, who was one of the physicians who attended at the Jewish Lazarette.

Jacob ben Isaac Zahalon was born in Rome in 1630 and devoted himself to Hebrew learning and to the study of medicine. During the plague of 1656-57 he was one of the

¹⁵⁴ Graetz, vol. iv, p. 407.

¹⁵⁵ Graetz, *Geschichte*, second edition, vol. viii, p. 236.

¹⁵⁶ *Revue des Études juives*, vol. xii, p. 113. This letter is referred to again below.

¹⁵⁷ Haeser, p. 837.

physicians who attended those affected. Two other physicians died of the disease.¹⁵⁸ In addition he delivered sermons, speaking from an open window to the people assembled in the street, for the synagogues were closed. In 1682 we find him acting as rabbi and physician in Ferrara where he died in 1693.¹⁵⁹

In 1668 Pope Clement IX at the solicitation of the community put an end to the carnival races. The condition of the community continued to decline. It is described as consisting in 1682 of 4,500 souls of which all but a few were very poor.¹⁶⁰ Toward the end of the century the community grew again in numbers, reaching 10,000, but its condition did not improve.¹⁶¹ We continue to find Jewish physicians of distinction. About 1692 Tranquillo (Manoah) Vita (Hayyim) Corcos ben Isaac was rabbi and physician and as late as 1724 a Dutch traveller extols him both as physician and as a Latin scholar.¹⁶²

The latter half of the eighteenth century showed the effects of the degeneration to which persecution had led. There were no distinguished scholars either in Hebrew lore or in the secular sciences. But even during this period there were those who struggled against all obstacles and we find the name of Guiseppe Castelli, a Roman Jew graduating in medicine in Rome in 1797, and there were probably others.¹⁶³ It is pathetic to see how Jewish life degenerated in the ghetto, how all ambition was stifled and the community which had

¹⁵⁸ Zahalon in his encyclopædic work, *Ozar ha-Hayyim*, 1683, end of book ii, fol. 21b, narrates an interesting controversy between himself and a Christian physician concerning a case of suspected plague. A *postmortem* examination was made and the diagnosis of Zahalon was confirmed. See writer's article on Jacob Zahalon, *Bulletin Medical Library Association*, July, 1918, p. 3.

¹⁵⁹ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, pp. 268-9.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 274; Berliner, vol. ii, part 2, pp. 69-82.

¹⁶³ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 282.

been characterized by wealth and activity, by scholarship and refinement was reduced to poverty and suffering.

The community had been empowered as early as 1643 to employ Christian teachers in their Jewish academy to teach grammar, logic and the sciences.¹⁶⁴ There was indeed a controversy concerning the propriety of using Latin, a profane language, in the Hebrew schools. Many of the students took up these branches as a preparation for the study of medicine. An interesting memoir of a Jewish student, Jehuda Gonzago, has been preserved.¹⁶⁵ He tells of the difficulties he met with in taking the degree of doctor of medicine in 1717. The Christian student paid but 30 *scudi*, the Jewish student was required to pay 90 *scudi* and it was only in exceptional cases that they were allowed to pay but 60 *scudi*. The award of the diploma was made at Sapienza (university) but in order to make a distinction in the case of a Jew, it was given in a very small room!¹⁶⁶

An account of the occupations of the members of the Jewish Community in 1726 shows a great variety of trades. Among them we again find that Jews sold "simple medicines, love philters and amulets."¹⁶⁷

In spite of the impoverished condition to which the Jewish Community had been reduced further restrictions were introduced or established. In 1728 and 1729 by papal decrees the Jews were prohibited from all commerce except in old cloth rags and old iron, and it was by the irony of fate that the Inquisition and the city authorities mitigated the decrees. In 1732 the various Jewish ordinances and prohibitions were collected but there is no mention concerning Jewish phy-

¹⁶⁴ Berliner, vol. ii, part 2, p. 143.

¹⁶⁵ Extracts translated by Berliner, *Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, 1904, vol. vii, pp. 111-132.

¹⁶⁶ Berliner, vol. ii, part 2, p. 69.

¹⁶⁷ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 321.

sicians. Yet it is recorded in the Roman Inquisition in 1735, that though

the general ordinances forbid Christian physicians and surgeons to treat Israelites, the cardinal and bishops nevertheless have constantly tolerated and permitted them to do so.¹⁶⁸

The history of the Jewish community was now a sad story with tragic climaxes of forced baptisms.

During the reign of Clement XXIV who had won the gratitude of the Jews through his wise and humane statement concerning the blood accusation in 1758, the Jews again entered the trades and professions and so we find physicians and surgeons among them.¹⁶⁹ The position of the Jews was changed completely when the French took Rome in 1798, all restrictions were removed, they were free and soon took high rank in army and in civil government. With the fall of Napoleon the papal power returned, the ghetto gates were again closed, the Inquisition was restored. During the return to power of Pope Leo XII (1823-29) and Pius VIII (1829-31) the mediæval edicts against them were reënacted. The Jews were again forced to listen to conversionist sermons. It was not till 1847 that the Jews were allowed to live outside the ghetto and in 1848 the walls of the ghetto were removed by papal order. But the trials and tribulations of the community did not end.

In a letter addressed by the Jewish community of Rome to their brethren in Europe in 1860, they described their sad and impoverished condition; that the arts and sciences, mechanical professions and manual crafts were closed to them, the cultivation of music and the fine arts forbidden. Vestiges of medical prohibitions lingered long. In the interesting account of the Jewish physicians of Italy by Livius Fürst, published in 1861, he complains that it is still forbidden in the Papal States for a Jew to conduct an apothecary and that

¹⁶⁸ *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. iii, p. 97.

¹⁶⁹ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 250.

Jewish physicians are awarded their diplomas only on condition that they refrain from treating Christian patients.¹⁷⁰ Conditions became even worse during the next few years. During the epidemic of cholera in 1867 which raged with great severity among the Jews, six Jewish physicians (among others) were awarded medals by the pope for the services they had rendered.

Even as late as 1859 the Mortara case and still later instances kept in mind the forced baptisms which had for centuries been their nightmare. It is only since Victor Emmanuel II took possession of Rome in 1870 that mediæval persecution came to an end and that the last of the ghettos was broken down. It comprised a period of 2,000 years of struggle and of growth, of accomplishment in spite of repression and in this long history no class contributed more to the honor and dignity of the community or their profession than did the Jewish physicians.

OTHER ITALIAN CITIES.

While in the majority of cities the conditions did not vary greatly from those which obtained in Rome, there are a few in which there were somewhat difficult conditions. We shall describe these briefly turning first to the cities which belonged to the Papal States, then to those of the other principalities of Italy.

Fano near Pesaro. The city of Fano was excommunicated three times in a period of forty years in the first half of the fifteenth century because of its leniency toward the Jews. About 1400 Elijah ben Judah of Rome, the physician, lived in Fano. In 1460 a Jewess named Perna applied for a permit to practice medicine.¹⁷¹

Ferrara, a great Jewish intellectual center first mentioned as to Jewish records in the eleventh century, became one of the

¹⁷⁰ *Supra*, p. 374.

¹⁷¹ "The Jewish Encyclopedia."

most important communities in the thirteenth century. Hillel ben Samuel of Verona (1220-1295), a physician and translator of distinction, practiced medicine for a time in Ferrara. Enjoying great liberty at the hands of the dukes of Este during the fifteenth century the community continued to grow and attracted many Jews less fortunately situated and many Jewish exiles. The flourishing Jewish community contributed in large measure to the great development of the city. In 1473

Duke Ercole I declared, probably in answer to the pope's request for their expulsion that in the interest of the duchy he could not spare them¹⁷²

In 1492 twenty-one families of Spanish exiles were permitted to settle by Ardole I.

They were allowed to follow any trade and to be apothecaries; and the duke even promised to secure for them papal permission to practice medicine among Christians.¹⁷³

During this period a surgeon Jacob attained to great prominence and was court physician to Ercole I (1467) whom he brought safely through a serious illness. An old medal was found in 1656 cast in honor of Elijah Beer, a physician and to his son Benjamin; they lived in the fifteenth century. In 1551 the Jews of Ferrara were blamed for the outbreak of the plague. Amatus Lusitanus was for a time professor of anatomy and botany and practiced medicine in Ferrara after his expulsion from Spain. Isaac Abravanel I (died 1573), the physician and the friend of Amatus, though highly esteemed by the duke, was imprisoned on a false charge of treason. He proved his innocence and was finally

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* A letter of Duke Hercules I assures them the right to "practice medicine among Christians, without fear of punishment" and "for further guarantee he promises to intervene with Pope Alexander VI to obtain a formal license." *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. xx, p. 38.

released. Many Jews attended the lectures of Brassavola, the distinguished professor of medicine in Ferrara.

When the Este family died out in 1597 Ferrara came into the hands of the popes and the Jewish community was placed under the same conditions as those in the other papal states. In consequence of these conditions the Jewish community lost its former prosperity and importance. Early in the seventeenth century one of the important public religious disputations was held in Ferrara, the Jewish side being sustained by Bonajuto Alatino, a physician and rabbi.¹⁷⁴

Mention must here be made of one Jewish physician and rabbinical scholar, who lived at a much later time. Isaac ben Samuel Lampronti, (1679-1756) belonging to an old Ferrara family, his great-grandfather having come to Ferrara from Constantinople in the sixteenth century, received his medical education at Padua. He devoted himself to teaching but

continued to practice medicine, visiting his patients early in the morning, because, as he said, the physician has a surer eye and can judge better of the state of his patient after the night's rest. He had a great reputation as physician, and his contemporaries generally added to his name the epithet, "the famous physician." . . . He died deeply mourned by the community and his numerous pupils. No stone was erected on his grave, for half a year before his death the tombstones of the Jewish cemetery of Ferrara had been destroyed by the instigation of the clergy (Ferrara belonged to the pontifical states), and the Jews were at the same time forbidden to place stones on the graves of their dead. More than a century later, Ferrara publicly honored the memory of Lampronti; on April 19, 1872, a stone tablet, for which Jews and Christians had contributed, was placed on the house in which he had lived; it bears the following inscription: *Abito in questa casa Isaaco Lampronti, nato nel MDCLXXIX., morto nel MDCCLVI. Medico Teologo tra i dotti celebratissimo. Onoro la patria. Riverenti alla scienza alcuni cittadini posero MDCCCLXXII.*¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ "The Jewish Encyclopedia," article Alatino.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Cento in the province of Ferrara, which was under the government of the Estes, came under papal control in 1598. In 1774 Moses Carpi was appointed physician-in-ordinary to Cardinal Albani and enjoyed many privileges, in spite of the fact that the condition of the Jews in general was quite unfortunate.

Faenza, province of Ravenna, is of interest to us chiefly because it was the home of the celebrated family (Finzi) and of the physician Lazarus Hebraeus

prominent in the fifteenth century on account of his wealth, his scholarship and his benevolence in treating the poor gratuitously, and concerning whom Bernardinus of Feltre, the great Jew baiting monk writes that

he accomplished the expulsion of the scoundrel Lazarus Hebraeus, who controlled the whole city with his authority, his money and his learning.¹⁷⁶

Bernardinus traveled from city to city preaching his calumnies and it is indeed surprising that he was not successful in inflaming the populace to great violence. In a measure his failure can be ascribed to the sanity of the authorities who in several places forced him to leave the town. He was specially virulent against Jewish physicians. He urged that the canonical law forbade intercourse with Jews, employing them as physicians or taking part in their social feasts.

Nevertheless the Jew Leo celebrated the wedding of his son for an entire week, and how many came to his dinners, his feasts, his balls! To-day everyone calls in Jewish physicians when he is ill!

In Mantua he complained bitterly because of the protection given the Jews and he condemned Venice for taking such interest in the Jews, that it is not possible to preach the word of God there.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ *Acta Sanctorum*, quoted by Graetz, *Geschichte*, second edition, vol. viii, pp. 236, 237; S. Cassel, *supra*, p. 153.

¹⁷⁷ S. Cassel, *supra*, p. 150.

In Siena, where a Jewish physician had been called, he went so far as to tell the people that a Jewish physician in Avignon had rejoiced on his deathbed that he had killed thousands of Christians with his drugs. His attacks were not without effect. There are a few interesting stories told of women who in spite of severe suffering refused to allow the physician to attend because he was a Jew.¹⁷⁸ It is said that Bernardinus met with great success in Tyrol and later in Germany.

In the fifteenth century several Jewish physicians of note resided in Parma. Among these were Elijah (1440) the physician to the Duke of Parma and formerly a lecturer in the schools of Pavia; Giacobbe (1453), perhaps the Giacobbe who in 1467 cured Ercole I. of Este; Abramo [or Abraham] di Mose of Prato (1480). . . . But (following hardship and expulsion) few Jews remained in Parma. Those who were left were not allowed to acquire real estate, but were permitted to enter any profession on the payment of an annual tax of 15,000 *lira*.¹⁷⁹

Mantua. The earliest mention of a Jew in Mantua was in the middle of the twelfth century; this was the celebrated scholar Abraham ibn Ezra. The Jewish community is referred to in the city statutes at the end of the fourteenth century. It suffered the common oppression with occasional evidences of favor. Better times dawned when the family of Gonzaga became the dukes of Mantua (1328). Many of its members had, as their physicians, members of the medical family of Portaleone who produced a line of six generations of distinguished physicians. Benjamin (Guglielmo) Portaleone born in 1438 was at one time physician to Ferdinand I of Naples who knighted him for his medical services.¹⁸⁰ Later

¹⁷⁸ Depping, p. 369; Fürst, p. 351; Graetz, vol. iv, p. 297.

¹⁷⁹ "The Jewish Encyclopedia."

¹⁸⁰ "Jewish Ethical Wills, Testament of Abraham Portaleone," Kaufmann, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1892, vol. iv, p. 333. In *Revue des Études juives*, xii, pp. 114-16, Marco Mortara records that he found a letter in the archives of Gonzaga at Mantua,

he became court physician to Duke Galeazzo Sforza of Milan. He settled in Mantua, his native city, at the death of the latter and became physician to Ludovico Gonzaga, Federico and Francesco, Dukes of Mantua. He practiced there until 1500. He had two sons; Abraham Arje was physician to Guido Baedo, Duke of Urbino, but later returned to Mantua to serve Federico Gonzago. Pope Clement VII wrote to him on several occasions; in one letter (February 28, 1525) thanking him for treating John de Medici, who had suffered a gun-shot injury in the leg; at the same time he wrote to the Duke of Mantua thanking him for sending Abraham to the patient. In November, 1526, Abraham amputated the injured leg; the patient died a few days later. The surgeon was blamed for the fatal outcome; "he had poisoned the wound."¹⁸¹ Eleazar (Lazzaro) the second son of Guglielmo, was physician to Giovanni Sassatelli, general of the Republic of Venice, by whom he was much favored, and later to Ludovico Gonzaga. He received in 1499 his papal dispensation to practice medicine.

Abram II and David both sons of Eleazar were given papal dispensation to practice in 1518 and were physicians of Federico Gonzago, "enjoying divers privileges."

written by Duke Charles II of Mantua in 1655, to his representative, Marquis Nerli, at the papal court. The duke is anxious to obtain a grant from the pope for Dr. Guglielmo Portaleone who had received his diploma at Siena and had been admitted by the Mantuan college of physicians, to practice among Christians and to become his court physician. The letter speaks of Guglielmo in terms of high praise and of the medical services of the family of Portaleone for generations; there are ten physicians mentioned, and there is a statement concerning each one telling whose physician each was and which popes granted them dispensation to practice. It starts with Guglielmo I, "who lived in 1438, physician of Ferdinand I, king of Naples who among other numerous and well deserved favors and privileges granted him the title *cavagliero* . . ."

¹⁸¹ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 39.

Leon, son of Abram II was an "excellent surgeon" and had an extensive practice among the nobility.

Lucius and the son of Abram II received dispensation to practice from Pope Clement in 1598.

David's son Abram (1542-1612) was a pupil of Jacob Fano (of Ferrara and Ancona) and a student of philosophy and medicine at Pavia where he took his degree in 1563. He enjoyed "the esteem of his co-religionists" and was "honoured by his prince, (Duke Guglielmo) who in a decree dated May 15, 1577, confirmed his appointment of physician-in-ordinary," which was renewed in 1587 by Duke Vincenzo I. In 1591 Pope Gregory XIV gave him permission to treat Christians. He was the author of two medical works and one on Jewish antiquities, a work highly extolled by Wagenseil and by Menasseh ben Israel.¹⁸²

His son, David II, followed in the family profession. He took his degree in philosophy and medicine in Padua in 1596 and two years later he received his license to practice from the college of physicians of Mantua and a special dispensation from Pope Clement VIII. The papal decree was confirmed by Gregory XVI in 1621. Following the family tradition he was physician in the service of the ducal family, receiving marks of favor from Dukes Vincenzo I, Ferdinand Vincenzo II and Charles I.

Benjamin (Guglielmo), son of David II, took his degree in medicine in Siena in 1639, and was likewise licensed to practice in Mantua, having had the same privileges which his father and grandfather enjoyed bestowed upon him by the

¹⁸² Fürst, *supra*, p. 346. The testament of Abram Portaleone contains "a confession, whose devotional spirit will be better appreciated when it is remembered that it was made by one of the most eminent physicians of his country." He ordered that his body should not be buried until three days after death, "an early and valuable protest against [the] outrageous practice" of "hasty and premature burials." See Kaufmann, *supra*, p. 333.

Popes Urban VIII and Innocent X at the request of the Duke Charles II. It is in his behalf that the letter of the same duke was sent to the papal court in 1655 requesting further confirmation.¹⁸³

A decree of the Duke of Mantua in 1545 had stated:

We desire that the Jews shall be as free and secure in pursuing their business and professions in our city and in our duchy as the Christians.¹⁸⁴

This liberty the Jews of Mantua had enjoyed. But it did not continue long. Toward the end of the century oppressive measures were put into effect and, in 1602, after the inciting tirades of a Franciscan monk, the Jewish physicians were forbidden by Duke Vincenzo Gonzago (1587-1612) to practice among Christians except by special permission. It was not until 1752 that the restrictive laws concerning Jewish physicians were finally abrogated.¹⁸⁵ During the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Cazes family distinguished themselves in Mantua as rabbi-physicians.

Genoa, in which city Jews are known to have settled before the destruction of the second Temple, and where they were constantly exposed to hatred and oppression, was the scene of great Jewish suffering during crusades. Nevertheless many Portuguese exiles were received there.¹⁸⁶ At the beginning of the sixteenth century the common prohibitions were

¹⁸³ The list of Jewish physicians who had permission to treat Christians in Mantua from 1556 to 1639 is found in an article by Carnevali in the *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. xi, p. 274.

¹⁸⁴ "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. viii, p. 299.

¹⁸⁵ Fürst, *supra*, p. 345; "The Jewish Encyclopedia."

¹⁸⁶ A vivid picture is recorded by Senarego of Genoa: "Many of the Jews driven out of Spain came to our city, but not to stay for any length of time; for according to ancient custom of our country they cannot tarry beyond three days. Nevertheless they were allowed to repair the ships which had brought them, and to recuperate somewhat for a few days from their fatigue. You might have called them ghosts; for they were thin, pale, their eyes sunken; and if it had not been for some slight movements

enforced and the only Jews exempted from the oppressive measure were the wholesale merchants and the physicians. During the pontificate of Clement VII (1523) the privilege of practicing medicine was accorded to Jewish physicians. Somewhat later, a Jewish physician was about to settle in Genoa but was prevented by the violent tirades of a Dominican monk.¹⁸⁷ Several expulsions occurred and in 1598 almost all the Jews were finally banished. Among those who practiced medicine in Genoa there was Joseph ha-Kohen (1496-1575), the author of the historical works *Emek Habacha* and *Divre Hajamin*, who was physician-in-ordinary to Andrea Doria, Doge of Genoa. His practice was so large that he complains "that he was obliged to neglect his correspondence." But in April, 1550, an expulsion of Jews was ordered and he was forced to flee as his father had been forced to flee from Spain, Huete, to Avignon thence to Novi (in the province of Genoa) and again from Genoa.¹⁸⁸

they made, you might have said they were dead. While the ships were being repaired and they were storing up supplies for a longer journey, a great part of the winter went by. During this period they lived at the hill, which place near the sea had been set aside exclusively for receiving the Jews." The Latin citation is found in Graetz, *Geschichte*, second edition, vol. viii, p. 353.

¹⁸⁷ Fürst, citing Silo de Sacy's reports based on the city archives, pp. 338, 353. The constitution of 1556 of Genoa expressly forbade the practice of medicine and law by the Jews. Bedarride, *Les Juifs en France*, etc., Paris, 1861, pp. 336, 568.

¹⁸⁸ Joseph ha-Kohen, *Emek habacha*, Wiener's edition, p. 87, tells how while in Genoa "his nephew Serachia ha-Levi, a physician, came with the intent of settling there. But the physicians were filled with envy and so they conspired with the nobility and with a Dominican monk, Boniface of Casale (may his name be cursed) who was preaching there, so that on the seventh day of Passover in 1550 he preached a sermon against the Jews. The nobles then proceeded to the palace and conferred with others. At this time there were two [Christian] physicians in the Council. The duke was unable to prevent them from issuing a decree of expulsion on the second day of April, which decree was published

The reader of the *Emek Habacha*, valley of tears, feels the deep personal sorrow in the history of the national sorrow which it records.¹⁸⁹

Florence. The Jewish settlement of Florence took place before 1400 and at first the Jews enjoyed great liberty.

In 1414 the Republic sent a Jewish banker, Valori by name, to represent it at Milan before the Duke of Visconti. As the latter refused to accept a Jewish ambassador, Florence declared war against him.

This friendly attitude of the Florentines, however, was subject to change as often as their government; the Jews were expelled and readmitted at the pleasure of the Senate.¹⁹⁰ The Medicis showed them great favor. Under Lorenzo, the Jews participated in the brilliant renaissance.

The Jewish physicians held an important position. Piero Leone who tended Lorenzo de Medici in his last illness, noticing the desperate condition of the illustrious patient, losing hope and overcome by profound chagrin, threw himself into a well; though according to others he was assassinated by the followers of Lorenzo. In order to replace Piero Leone, Iudovic the Moor sent Lazarus of Pavia to Lorenzo. . . . Angelus Politianus, an eyewitness, stated, in a letter that he wrote in June, 1492. to Jacobus Antiquarius in Milan, that Lazaro, who seems to have been a very experienced physician was called to the patient too late, but that he made one last attempt. He ordered that Lorenzo be given a portion containing ground up precious stones. This Lazaro de Pavia is none other than the Jew Lazarus who was exiled from Faenza after Bernardin de Feltre had delivered a sermon against him.¹⁹¹

amid the blowing of trumpets in Genoa, as they had done in the days of my father Joshua ha-Kohen. We left Genoa on the third of June and settled in Voltaggio, and here practised until 1568 as physicians." See also *Revue des Etudes Juives*, vol. xvi, p. 43.

¹⁸⁹ "The Jewish Encyclopedia"; Graetz, vol. iv, p. 555; Loeb, *Josef Hachohen*.

¹⁹⁰ Elbogen, in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," article Florence.

¹⁹¹ Perles, in *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. xii, p. 252.

Jewish physicians rose to positions of great prominence; foremost among them was Elijah Delmedigo, an eminent scholar, who participated in one of the religious disputations, so popular in the Christian world in that day.

Leghorn, which is one of the latest Jewish communities in Italy, was for a time "foremost because of the wealth, scholarship, and political rights of its members." It owed its settlement at the end of the sixteenth century to the Medicis who invited Jews as well as non-Jews to come. In the enjoyment of great freedom the community grew and prospered. Science and literature were cultivated and the study of medicine was very popular.¹⁹² As late as 1722 we find a Christian and his wife obtaining permission from the Roman Inquisition to call in a Jewish physician.¹⁹³

Ancona¹⁹⁴ on the Adriatic was the seat of an early Jewish settlement. During the period when it was a republic the Jews enjoyed full freedom, but later the usual restrictions were imposed. In 1429 the city came under the sway of the pope, and later it offered a refuge to many Jews exiled from Naples and Spain. Under Paul IV (1555-1559) the Jews were prohibited from engaging in any commerce except old clothing and in any profession except medicine but their physicians were forbidden to practice among Christians. A period of severe persecution followed. In 1659 the Jews of Ancona and Rome are specially exempted from the general banishment of the Jews from the Papal states. The subse-

¹⁹² "The Jewish Encyclopedia."

¹⁹³ Similar requests are recorded in the archives of the Inquisition of Rome from other places. Count Pironi of Ancona solicits permission to employ Anselm Marini in 1749. Leone Prospero Padova, a Jew of Modena, requests permission to treat Christians, the government having already granted permission. The Inquisition granted the request "with certain reservations." *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. iii, pp. 97, 104, 105.

¹⁹⁴ According to Immanuel of Rome (1264-1330), the home of distinguished scholars and poets.

quent political conditions of the Jews of Ancona were identical with those of Rome.

There were Jewish physicians in Ancona. The most prominent among them was the rabbi and physician, Samson ben Joshua Moses Morpurgo, born in Austria in 1681, died in Ancona in 1740. He studied medicine in Padua. He was awarded a testimonial for his services by the Archbishop of Ancona in 1730.

Urbino. In the fifteenth century, Urbino contained only a few Jews who were either physicians or were engaged in the humbler branches of trade. A Jew, Moses, was for many years municipal physician of Urbino in the sixteenth century.

Venice, which was founded in the middle of the fifth century by refugees from other parts of Italy during the great migrations of the Northern peoples, did not show great sympathy or hospitality to the Jews who sought residence there. The earliest Venetian document mentioning the Jews is a decree of the Senate dated 945, prohibiting captains of ships sailing in Oriental waters from taking on board Jews or other merchants. The settlement of the Jews was not in the city proper but on the neighboring island of Spinalunga, known as early as 1252 as the Giudeca, but it was later abandoned.

It was claimed that the commerce of Venice with the Levant was brought about by a Jew and in 1541 it was noted that

the greater part of the commerce coming from Upper and Lower Rumania is controlled by . . . Jewish Levantine merchants.

In 1688 the Senate referred to "the important advantages" derived from Jewish commerce.¹⁹⁵ Nevertheless the Jews were granted the right of residence only for definite periods and they suffered several expulsions though they were each time soon readmitted. The practice of medicine was the only pro-

¹⁹⁵ "The Jewish Encyclopedia," article Venice.

fession open to them, and in this they achieved great success. In 1331 permission was granted to Leo, the physician, to practice without previous examination because of his high repute.¹⁹⁶ In 1502 Lorenzo Suarez of Venice had a Jewish physician, Joseph, perhaps the son of Samuel Zarfati of Rome.¹⁹⁷

The most eminent Jewish physician of Venice was Jacob Mantino (1490-1549), concerning whom we have written under Rome. One Guiseppe Tamari held the office of city physician during the period of the republic.¹⁹⁸

Filothéo Eliau (Elijah) Montalto, the Portuguese Marano physician who is believed by Kayserling to have been a brother of Amatus Lusitanus, practiced medicine in Venice during the first few years of the seventeenth century, leaving to become physician to Maria de Medici at the French court. Another Marano physician and philosopher, Isaac Cardosa (1615-1680), born in Portugal, migrated to Venice, where he followed the profession of medicine and became celebrated through his philosophical works.

The Conegliano brothers must also be mentioned. Solomon (1642-1719) the older, who had studied medicine in Padua, became a teacher in Venice; young Jews from all parts of Europe sought his house to attend the preparatory school which he had established there.

Tobias Cohn, the well known author, was his pupil and described him as one of the greatest physicians and philosophers of his time. He was greatly honored by the republic and made a citizen. The younger brother Israel left Venice for Constantinople where he rose to a position of honor and influence but later he returned to Venice, where he shared with his brother, the honor conferred by the republic.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ Güdemann, vol. ii, p. 238.

¹⁹⁷ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 83.

¹⁹⁸ "The Jewish Encyclopedia."

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, article Conegliano.

Israel Conegliano likewise practiced medicine in Venice for a time, later in Constantinople, where he enjoyed a position of great influence, acting for a time as the representative of Venice. He later returned to Venice, where the Senate had in 1693 exempted him and his two brothers from wearing the yellow hat and had made them citizens of the republic. In 1596 he was appointed an ex-officio member of the peace congress which met at Carlovitz near Belgrade. Because of Conegliano's influence with the Turkish Commissioners his efforts were crowned with success, and on January 26, 1699, the peace protocol was signed.

Conegliano returned to Venice and was further honored by his government by receiving permission to travel at will, without the special license usually required of the Jews.²⁰⁰

It must not be supposed that Jewish physicians were free from restrictions in Venice. When the constitution of the bishop of Treves (Nicholas Franco, 1486-1499) was published in Venice, the ecclesiastical prohibition concerning Jewish physicians was specially mentioned.²⁰¹

Jewish physicians were not allowed to wear the professional black *berretta* except by special permission. In 1528, when the distinguished Jacob Mantino of whom we have written above, came to Venice, he was relieved from wearing the "Jewish hat." In the following year

the Bishop of Verona made the request that his friend Master Jacob Mantino be granted permission to wear the black *berretta* . . . for he was a most able physician and a remarkable man.

Permission was granted for four months by vote of ten to seven. Later the time was extended for one month more.

Padua. The earliest mention of Jews in Padua was at the end of the thirteenth century; the name referred to is Jacob Bonacosa, a physician who in 1255 translated one of the works

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ Hefeles, vol. viii, p. 296.

of Averroes. The condition of the Jewish community was favorable until 1405 when Padua came under the dominion of Venice, and then the Jews lost their citizenship, were obliged to obtain permission to reside there for limited periods and were in constant danger of expulsion. In the second half of the fifteenth century conditions of oppression became aggravated and the Jews were twice expelled and again admitted. They were then placed under the supervision of the Senate of Venice.

The University of Padua endeavored to protect the Jewish community at various times. Jewish students were admitted and came in considerable numbers from distant places. Thus during the period from 1517 to 1619 eighty Jewish students obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine and from 1619 to 1721 one hundred and forty-nine took their degrees. Before graduation the Jewish students had to deliver 170 pounds of *confetti* to the Christian students and during the fifteenth century they were compelled to invite the whole student body to dinner. Their graduation fees were larger than those of the Christians. It is interesting to note that Jewish students were exempted from wearing the Jewish hat but they were forbidden to practice medicine among either Jews or Christians.

The students of medicine claimed the corpses of the Jews for anatomical purposes; and often they took them forcibly from the burial-place in spite of the fact that the Jews possessed the privilege that the bodies of their dead were not to be touched. For this privilege they paid large sums. Being severely punished, the students were at last obliged to submit. When the first snow of each winter fell, the Jews, like the other citizens, following an old custom were required to pay a certain tax to the students—in olden times 6 ducats. This "celebration of the first snow" was abolished in 1633; but the Jews were compelled to continue payment of the tax in order to provide *confetti* for the students, whose number was about 1,000.²⁰²

²⁰² "The Jewish Encyclopedia," article Padua by Elbogen.

We learn that as early as 1340 a famous Jewish physician and medical writer, Gentile da Foligno, was called to a professorship in Padua and that he died there of the plague in 1348. A Christian pupil and friend attributed his death to too great devotion to his profession.²⁰³ In 1406 the Jewish physician Abraham, son of Ligucius of Padua was taken under the protection of Pope Innocent VII.²⁰⁴

According to Ittee (*De honor. s. gradibus acad.*, p. 1541), Padua as early as 1409 was liberal enough to bestow its medical doctorate upon a Jew.²⁰⁵

One of the most celebrated of the Jewish physicians of Padua was Elijah del Medigo who became professor of philosophy at the University of Padua in 1485, and later taught in Florence, Venice, Perugia and Bassano. He was born in Candia in Crete in 1460 and died in 1497. He became the head of the Talmudical school in Padua. Among his students was Count Giovanni Pico di Mirandola (1463-1494), the scholar and mystic, who remained his lifelong friend and protector. Abraham de Balmes (born in Lecce, died 1523 in Venice) was distinguished as a translator no less than as a physician. He was the physician-in-ordinary to Cardinal Grimani. He delivered lectures on philosophy and became so popular that at his funeral great honor was shown by his Christian students.²⁰⁶ Another Jewish physician was invited to a professorship in Padua. Montalto, the Marano from Portugal, who about 1598 took refuge in Leghorn, later practiced in Venice and subsequently became court physician in France, was invited to succeed the renowned Mercurial but declined because he feared that he would not be able to follow his religious obligations.²⁰⁷ About 1550 Pope Julius III

²⁰³ Güdemann, vol. ii, p. 238.

²⁰⁴ Eubel, p. 40.

²⁰⁵ Rashdall, "Mediæval Universities," 1895, vol. ii, p. 22.

²⁰⁶ "The Jewish Encyclopedia."

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, under "Montalto."

assembled the medical faculty in Padua to examine Leone Benaja of Imola and confer the degree of Doctor of Medicine.²⁰⁸

Among the eminent physicians of Padua there were members of the Cantarini family: Kalonymus Aaron (Clement) ben Samuel (Simon) ha-Kohen Cantarini (1593-1631), and Judah (Leon) ben Samuel (Simon) ha-Kohen Cantarini (1650-1694).

He had a large practice among the Christian as well as the Jewish population . . . visiting the poorer of his patients four times a day without charge.²⁰⁹

Isaac Hayyim Cantarini (Vito), 1644-1723, "Italian poet, writer, physician and rabbi," took his degree in Padua in 1664. He "had an extensive practice, especially among the patricians outside of Padua." One of his works, *Pahad Yizhak*, contains a description of the attack on the ghetto at Padua by the Christian populace in 1684.

Hayyim Moses (Angelo) ben Isaiah Azriel Cantarini, who lived in the second half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century, the nephew of the preceding Isaac Hayyim, likewise combined the post of physician and rabbi. Other physicians are recorded as having practiced in Padua, Hayyim Moses (till 1630) and Isaac Hayyim Moses, 1644-1723. The Jewish physicians of Padua had to contend with much opposition on the part of their Christian colleagues.²¹⁰

In Naples there was a settlement of Jews at an early period. During the conflict between Theodatus (the successor of Theodoric), and Justinian, the Jews of Naples staunchly supported the former,²¹¹ and during the siege provisioned the city and protected one quarter, receiving high praise from a contemporary historian. But the city finally fell to Justinian and the Jews must have fared badly at his hands (536). In

²⁰⁸ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 145.

²⁰⁹ "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. iii, p. 536.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, article Padua.

²¹¹ Graetz, vol. iii, pp. 31, 32.

general the community of Naples had the same fate as their neighbors in Sicily for Naples was politically bound up with Sicily. Joan (of Anjou), queen of Naples (reigned from 1343 till 1382), had as her court physician Bendich Ahin of Arles (1369). He was a profound scholar and enjoyed the fullest confidence of the queen. He resided at the royal palace, and was exempted from all tax.²¹² For a time Guglielmo or Benjamin di Portaleone was court physician to King Ferdinand of Naples.

In 1473 Pope Sixtus IV granted permission to Astruc de Balmes to practice among Christians, and Innocent VIII (1484-92),²¹³ granted the privilege to be graduated in medicine in Naples and to practice there without regard to religion to Abram di Mayr de Balmes of Lecce.²¹⁴

In 1492 the Jews driven from Spain were received in large numbers in Naples; among them the distinguished Isaac Abravanel and his son Judah, known as Leo Hebraeus; a philosopher, astronomer, poet and physician, the latter became the physician-in-ordinary to the Spanish captain-general, Gonsalvo de Cordova, who vigorously opposed the banishment of the Jews. Forced to leave Naples he finally settled in Venice. In 1503 Spain dispossessed France of Naples and during the reign of Pope Julius II Jews exiled from Naples were allowed to settle in Rome (1504). Their final expulsion from Naples occurred in 1541-42.

Salerno, thirty-four miles southeast of Naples, became the capital of an independent principality in the ninth century. The sack of the city by Emperor Henry VI in 1194 put a stop to its development. The city was known as the *Civitas Hippocratica* because of its medical school. The university was founded in 1150 and remained one of the leading schools of Italy for several centuries. It was a purely secular institution.

²¹² "The Jewish Encyclopedia," article Ahin.

²¹³ Stern, vol. i, p. 65.

²¹⁴ Vogelstein and Rieger, vol. ii, p. 23; Stern, *supra*, p. 67.

Salernitan physicians are mentioned in the ninth century. The beginning of medical teaching in Salerno is shrouded in legends, of which one relates that a Jew Elinus was one of the four founders. Steinschneider has shown that this assumption is without any foundation. But the legend indicates that Jews were associated with the medical activity of Salerno at an early date.²¹⁵ In 848 a Jewish physician Josephus is mentioned in the records and in 855 there is again reference to a Jewish physician Giose.²¹⁶ Judah the Jewish physician, son of Judah is mentioned in 1005 in the records. The earliest ghetto known is that of Salerno.²¹⁷ It is mentioned in 1086. Sichelgarti, wife of Duke Roger, bequeathed the receipts of all the Jews to the church of the Madonna in Salerno, in 1086, and her husband gave to the archbishop of Salerno the Jewish quarter and all Jews then in Salerno or afterward coming to Salerno excepting those established on ducal lands.²¹⁸

In 1160 Salomon Parchon of Spain translated a Biblical dictionary in Arabic by a Spanish author into Hebrew for learned Jews in Salerno. Soon after this the great traveller Benjamin of Tudela found in Salerno a Jewish community of 600 souls. A physician (?) Joab of Salerno (end of twelfth century) is mentioned by Steinschneider.²¹⁹

Faraj is described by some as having been active in Salerno but Steinschneider shows that²²⁰

Faraj played no part in the medical school of Salerno but that as translator of Arabic works he became an important link in the development of Arabic medicine in southern Italy. . . .

²¹⁵ Haeser, vol. i, pp. 647, 651.

²¹⁶ Perhaps the same Joseph, according to Steinschneider, *Virchows Archiv*, vol. xxxviii, p. 89.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

²¹⁸ Depping, p. 129.

²¹⁹ *Supra*, p. 75.

²²⁰ *Supra*, vol. xxxix, p. 324.

And he adds that with Faraj there is the end of any importance of the Jews so far as Salerno is concerned. We have no other reliable records showing direct associating of Jewish physicians either with the medical university of Salerno or serving as a basis for the statement frequently made that Jewish students played an important part there.

The history of the Jews of Sicily reaches back to the end of the sixth century. We learn of them at this time through a complaint addressed to the pope because of the persecution inflicted upon them by the Christians; the pope ordered restitution of property stolen from them and other protection. In Palermo there were Jewish families of ancient nobility.²²¹ It was in Sicily that the first laws in Europe regulating medical practice were instituted by the edict of Roger II.²²²

During the crusades (1210-24) Frederick II (1193-1250)²²³ put into execution the law excluding Jews from public offices; in 1221 special Jewish badge was instituted. During the reign of Charles of Anjou, King of Naples and Sicily in the latter half of the thirteenth century, Faraj ben Salim of Girgenti, mentioned above, was court physician and trans-

²²¹ Graetz, vol. iii, p. 28.

²²² "Whosoever will henceforth practice medicine, let him present himself to our officials and judges to be examined by them; but if he presume of his own temerity, let him be imprisoned and all his goods be sold by auction. The object of this is to prevent the subjects of our kingdom incurring peril through the ignorance of physicians." Neuburger and Pagel, vol. iii, p. 1002.

²²³ It was Frederick II who in 1240 decreed that "inasmuch as the science of medicine can be understood only by such as have studied logic, none shall be permitted to enter upon the study of medicine unless he has devoted three years to logic. He must then spend five years in the study of medicine and of surgery which forms part of the healing art. It is only then that permission to practice may be given provided that he has passed an examination by the designated authorities and has submitted evidences of study as above required. Neuburger and Pagel, *supra*.

lator of several important medical works from Arabic into Latin. The work was done for the king who ordered that Friar Giovanni, the greatest illuminator of his day, should place upon his copy the portrait of Faraj beside his own. This copy is preserved in the National Library of Paris. A cut is to be found in "The Jewish Encyclopedia."²²⁴

In 1283 special privileges were granted to the physician David of Palermo. He was appointed by King Peter *magister judæorum*.²²⁵ The first reference to Jewish physicians in the law, is found in an enactment adopted in 1296 by the Parliament at Piazza and following decrees of Church Councils and papal decrees, prohibiting their practice.

A Christian who is ill and allows a Jewish physician to treat him is condemned to three months imprisonment with no food but bread and water; the physician is condemned to such imprisonment for twelve months and in addition is to forfeit the fee and the cost of the medicinal remedies, these sums to be given to the poor.²²⁶

Frederick III was greatly influenced against the Jews by Arnold de Villanova who, through interpretation of dreams, etc., induced the credulous, intolerant, and rapacious monarch to advise his brother James of Aragon to institute the ghetto. Frederick himself ordered this regulation in Palermo in 1312.²²⁷ In 1304 a Jewish physician Aaron in Messina, was excommunicated by the chief rabbi, Aaron Fadi, and an associate rabbi. He appealed to the courts of the king and was sustained. In addition the two who had excommunicated him were fined.²²⁸ In 1327 we find Frederick III writing to Palermo ordering the Jewish physician Gaudius to come to him for certain services. It is not necessary to point to the

²²⁴ Sketch taken from article in this work, vol. v, p. 342.

²²⁵ *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. x, p. 308.

²²⁶ Zunz, "History of Jews of Sicily," vol. i, p. 487.

²²⁷ See Güdemann, vol. ii, p. 283.

²²⁸ Depping, p. 356, with reference to Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, p. 410.

special legislation from which the Jews of Sicily suffered, for this story is much the same everywhere. A Sicilian historian states that

It must be said to the honor of Sicily and her people that the Jews were here treated better and were held in higher honor than elsewhere and that the violence at times perpetrated upon them was the work of persons who knew not what they did, etc.²²⁹

However true this may be we find that in the year 1392 the riotous persecutions became so terrible that Jews again implored the pope for aid. Pope Martin ordered that the offenders should be punished but the violence, bloodshed and persecution even expulsion continued. In spite of these unfavorable conditions the Jews of Sicily were for a time quite prosperous and took a leading part in the varied pursuits, commercial, financial and industrial. It is their medical activity that specially interests us. It was in 1450 that the Jews received the right to practice freely among Christians, because of the need of skilful physicians, and to reside outside the ghetto.²³⁰

We learn that during the period 1363-1485 there are 156 names of Jewish physicians mentioned in the official documents.²³¹ There were even women, among them Virdimura, wife of Pasquale, the physician of Catane, who were licensed to practice in 1376 after an official examination by the royal physicians, and in consideration of the praise universally given her. It is noted that she desired to devote herself to the treatment of the poor who were unable to pay the large fees (*immensa salaria*) of other physicians.²³² We are reminded of the neighboring "Ladies of Salerno."²³³ In 1408 King

²²⁹ Quotation from Starrabba, see Güdemann, vol. ii, p. 273.

²³⁰ Zunz, p. 498.

²³¹ Lagumina, *Codice Diplomatico, Neuzeit*, 1885, pp. 247-8.

²³² Landau, *Die Juden in Sicilien*; *Israelitische Monatsschrift*, June 16, 1897; *Revue des Études Juives*, vol. xi, p. 287.

²³³ See Withington, p. 193.

Martin granted certain privileges to the Jews of Messina in consideration of their devoted loyalty during the wars. The Jews of Palermo likewise enjoyed certain privileges.

Moses Hefez Bonavoglio, who lived during the first half of the fifteenth century was

renowned for his learning and eloquence; he was deputed in 1428 by seventeen Jewish communities of Sicily to wait on King Alfonso V, in 1430 and 1431, to repeal ordinances unfavorable to the Jews and was made chief justice (*naggià*) of the supreme Jewish court. Being at the court in Naples when appointed, he deputed his brother to act as his proxy; the latter accordingly was invested with the new dignity in the synagogue of Palermo.²³⁴

Less fortunate was his contemporary Moses Rimos, physician, scholar, poet and martyr. He was born in Palma, Majorca, about 1406. He lived for a period in Rome and settled in Palermo where he practised medicine.

Accused of having poisoned a Christian patient, he was imprisoned and sentenced to death. He preferred to die at the hand of the hangman rather than submit to baptism, which had been offered him as a means of saving his life. He was buried by the city walls of Palermo in 1430.²³⁵

We learn that in 1453 the viceroy sent an officer, Marsala, to protect the Jews during Easter week, and in 1480 the viceroy forbade priests from preaching sermons inciting the people against the Jews, and a few years later a Franciscan monk was severely reproved for such action. The history of Sicilian Jewry ended in 1492 with their expulsion by decree of Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain.²³⁶ His decree met with vigorous opposition on the part of the Sicilians as well as of the Jews. The council of the city of Palermo protested through a deputation that

the banishment would result in the complete ruin of the city . . . the charges against the Jews were without foundation,

²³⁴ "The Jewish Encyclopedia," articles Bonavoglia and Messina.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, article Rimos.

²³⁶ Jacobs, "Sources of Spanish Jewish History."

and called upon the evidence of the Inquisitor for proof, etc.²³⁷ Exiles fled to Apulia, Calabria and Naples. At the last named place they had but brief respite, for two years later an epidemic swept over the city, the Jews were blamed and again suffered banishment, settling in various cities of the Orient. Among those exiled was Balson, who found a home in Reggio where he practiced medicine and where he wrote a medical work of considerable merit.²³⁸

Sardinia.

The settlement of Jews in various parts of the island goes as far back as the year 19 of the common era. . . . So long as pagans ruled the empire the Jews possessed full rights of citizenship, but as Christianity became the dominant power these rights were curtailed. . . .²³⁹

Bondavin (Bonjudes), a physician and scholar of Marseilles, settled in Sardinia in 1390. He was elected rabbi.

The king confirmed this election and extended Bondavin's jurisdiction over all the Jews of Sardinia. This official post gave him much influence, and he was admitted among the high dignitaries who attended King Martin II when the latter sojourned at Cagliari.²⁴⁰

²³⁷ Güdemann, vol. ii, p. 291.

²³⁸ Fürst, p. 337.

²³⁹ "The Jewish Encyclopedia." We find the following statement in Güdemann, vol. ii, p. 238, citing G. Spano, *Gli Ebrei in Sardegna*: "Among the physicians of Sardinia was Eymies (Chagini?) Isacco, so renowned, that he won the recognition of the governor of the province and the council of the city. He was called in 1406 to Cagliari to practice there. Later the governor, Count Don Berengario Carroz besides handing him his payment for services, expressed his appreciation for what he had done for the people of Cagliari and for his family during their severe diseases." This statement is taken from a publication shown to have been based upon a gross historical forgery. See *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1870, pp. 64-103.

²⁴⁰ "The Jewish Encyclopedia," article Bondavin.

The Jewish physicians of Italy were learned and scholarly. It is not surprising therefore to learn that they produced many non-medical writings and that they took a prominent part in the introduction of printing. Professor David Werner Amram in his interesting work, "The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy,"²⁴¹ tells of quite a number of such men, whose names are well known both as physicians and as scholars. They did not limit their publications to Hebrew. One even printed the documents for the Council of Trent and for Pope Pius IV.²⁴²

In the rapid sketch of the position which Jewish physicians occupied in the life of Italy it has become apparent that they were an important influence and formed a link between the two separate communities, the dominant Christian and the oppressed and down trodden Jewish.²⁴³ In his letter to Jechiel of Naples, Isaac Abravanel asks:

Whether there were Jewish physicians in the Italian states, and whether the princes of the church employed them. . . . Physicians [he said] possess the key to the hearts of the great, upon whom the fate of the Jews depends.

We do not know the answer Jechiel gave. But we can answer that no class or profession did more to gain for the Jewish communities the respect and acknowledgment of merit than the long line of honorable and learned members of the medical profession.

²⁴¹ Philadelphia, 1909.

²⁴² Marx, in *Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie*, vol. x, p. 94.

²⁴³ Güdemann, vol. ii, p. 237.

GABRIEL MILAN, THE JEWISH GOVERNOR OF ST. THOMAS.

BY LEE M. FRIEDMAN, A. B., LL. B.

As early as 1622 Christian IV, King of Denmark, wrote the Jewish council of Amsterdam asking them to encourage Jews to settle in his state, promising both freedom of worship and other privileges.¹ Evidently the invitation was accepted, for when the Danish policy changed Frederick II complained in 1651 that

Jews have stolen into Denmark contrary to long-standing custom and have dared to traffic with jewels and the like,

and enacted a law that Jews should not enter Denmark without a special passport and that those already settled there should leave within fourteen days.² This continued as the law of Denmark well into the eighteenth century.³ Either licenses must have been liberally granted or the anti-Jewish laws must have been more formidable on paper than in practice, because the Jewish cemetery in Copenhagen was

¹ Graetz, "History of the Jews," English translation, vol. iv, p. 675.

² *De Mosaiske Troesbekenderes Stilling i Danmark*, Odense, 1837; M. L. Nathanson, *Historisk Freustilling af Jodernes Forhold og Stilling i Danmark*, Copenhagen, 1860; "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. iv, p. 522.

³ "The Danish Laws or the Code of Christian V," English translation, London, 1756, book iii, ch. xx: "Of Jews & Tatars." Article 1: "No Jew shall be permitted to enter this kingdom, or reside therein, without special license from the King, under Penalty of a thousand dollars." Article 2: "Whoever informs the King's Lieutenant of a Jew shall receive a reward of Fifty dollars."

established in 1670, while the Copenhagen synagogue dates from 1684, and Jews evidently continued to hold positions of commercial importance. Thus Moses Joshua Henriques in 1686 was factor in Glückstadt for ships sailing to Guinea, and later seemed to have a royal license to trade with the West Indies as well.⁴ At any rate he petitioned the king in 1695 for permission to transfer his rights to Jacob Cohen and his fellow investors.⁵

It is, therefore, not surprising to find that Jews were amongst the earliest settlers when St. Thomas became a Danish colony.⁶ It has already been noted in the *Publications* of this Society that, even before Danish control, St. Thomas figured in the Jewish history of Portugal when in 1493 King John II conferred the seignory of the island upon Don Alvaro de Caminha and ordered that the sons and daughters of tender age of the Jews be taken away, baptised and carried as settlers to St. Thomas.⁷

From Jewish sources we know of the martyrdom of many of these children, separated from their parents, banished to

⁴ Casper Peter Rothe, *Kong Christian den Fenteskrevne Balainger og Anordninger, eller Cescupter for Norge, Island, Ferroerne og de Indiske Besiddelser fra 9 de Februar 1670 til 25 Augusti 1699*, Copenhagen, 1777, excerpt 2.

⁵ Danish State Archives (*Rigsarkiv*): *Copie Bogholden ved Compagniets Contoir i Kiobenhavn fra den 13 Feb., 1690 til A[nn]o 1713, over hvad der er passeret ved det vestindiska, comp. soerlig vedr. St. Thomas.*

⁶ Waldemar Westergaard, "The Danish West Indies 1671-1917," New York, 1917, p. 38: "Indeed the Jewish settlers were of sufficient importance that in 1685 when negotiations were carried on by the Brandenburgians who controlled a river trading company to the Danish at St. Thomas, looking to an amalgamation, one of the proposed articles was to provide that Jews were tolerated in St. Thomas and allowed to hold private services provided they permitted no scandals."

⁷ *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 2, p. 132 n.

this distant island, perishing from starvation and hardship.⁸ Although the known history of the Jewish settlers in the Danish West Indies is as yet fragmentary, here and there we see traces that indicate its importance. In 1771 the Congregation Shearith Israel of New York spent £4. 12. 1, charges "for sending away Moses Mial a poor lad to St. Croix,"⁹ while in 1782 the Jews of Philadelphia begged the help of the Jews of St. Croix and St. Thomas to enable them to build a synagogue in Philadelphia.¹⁰ We also know that Benjamin Frank, a Jew, was a shipowner at St. Thomas in 1696, and the seizure of one of his vessels at that harbor by a French privateer was one of the grounds of protest by the Danes against their French neighbors.¹¹ The well-known New York Jewish merchant, Joseph Bueno, was interested in trading with St. Thomas as early as 1694,¹² and still later Emanuel Vass, who figured in the census of St. Thomas in 1733 as a Jew, was also engaged in shipping and trading.¹³

There is a considerable break in the available information of the intervening history. An anonymous English author, writing from St. Thomas in 1843, said that

the flock of Israel's fold is thick and fares well at this place, however, one or two houses of eminence are of this class, as also a large portion of the second rate traders, those who keep stores for hardware, glass, porcelain and the dispensers of spirit and friperie.¹⁴

⁸ Joseph ha-Kohen, *Emek ha-Baka*; Gedeliah ibn Yahia, *Shal-shelet ha-Kabbalah*. For both of these references I am indebted to Albert M. Friedenberg.

⁹ *Publications, supra*, No. 21, p. 109.

¹⁰ A. S. W. Rosenbach, "Historical Sketch of the Congregation Mikve Israel," Philadelphia, 1909, p. 9; *Publications, supra*, No. 1, p. 16.

¹¹ See Note 5, *supra*.

¹² Westergaard, *supra*, p. 210 n.

¹³ *Publications, supra*, No. 2, p. 81.

¹⁴ "Letters from the Virgin Islands," London, 1843, p. 99.

In an account of St. Thomas published in 1852, John P. Knox,¹⁵ pastor of the Reform Dutch Church, wrote that there was then a Jewish Community of between 450 and 500 persons who had a synagogue and burying ground of their own. The early records of the synagogue had been lost; and he added that the greater part of these Jews had come to St. Thomas after the sacking of St. Eustatius by Rodney in 1781, although he called attention to a record as early as 1757 showing births to a Jewish family on the island. The synagogue which he described had been built in 1833 and the congregation dated from 1796. He quoted a statement that in 1801 the congregation had dwindled to only nine families, and had increased in 1803 to twenty-two families by arrivals from England, St. Eustatius and Curaçao.

Professor Waldemar Westergaard in his recently published history of the Danish West Indies described the fourth governor, that arrived in St. Thomas in 1684, as a Jew who had led an eventful life as soldier under Cardinal Mazarin, merchant in Amsterdam, financier for Prince George of Denmark, Danish factor and factor general in Amsterdam, acquainted with the Spanish, French, Portuguese, German and Dutch languages, and considerable of a politician in Danish court circles. In a word, Gabriel Milan was a soldier of fortune who, at the age of fifty-three through the favor of a king, had thrust into his hands the chance to become a ruler of men only to misuse his opportunity, fail and die in misery.¹⁶

Through the kindness of Professor Westergaard there has been made available a translation from the Danish of a biographical sketch of Gabriel Milan prepared by James Frederick Krarup,¹⁷ who was at one time employed in the state archives at Copenhagen.

¹⁵ "A Historical Account of St. Thomas, W. I.," New York, 1852.

¹⁶ Westergaard, *supra*, p. 58 *et seq.*

¹⁷ *Gabriel Milan og Somme ef haus Samtid*, in *Personahistorisk Tidsskrift*, Copenhagen, 1893, pp. 102-130; 1894, pp. 1-51.

SUMMARY OF THE PAPER BY KRARUP.

The article is divided into two parts, the first dealing with Milan's career up to his appointment as governor of St. Thomas and the second dealing with his governorship and career thereafter. The article is written in a somewhat gossipy vein, and, while discursive, manages after all to convey a rather distinct impression both of the deeds of Milan and his problems. It begins by an incident in Milan's career when in 1670 he was the royal Danish factor in Amsterdam. He had helped Gjõe, the Danish minister or envoy extraordinary at The Hague, by advancing him money. When the loan was not repaid as agreed Milan pressed his debtor and a secretary of the legation wrote in behalf of the minister branding Milan as "a shameless Jew." Milan, in answer to this, expressed his utmost astonishment over the indignities with which he had been overwhelmed. "Born of a family that has occupied, and still occupies, responsible positions in Spain, Flanders and Italy, brought up in the highest circles and in a refined environment, he never in all his previous life had such an experience. 'Shameless' he certainly is not and never has been. 'Jew.' Yes, that he is; but that he counts as an honor, for no people has shown itself so well able as the Jewish to serve faithfully lords and princes, and indeed to place strength, life and property at their disposal. As for himself, he serves the king, but is not for that reason the servant of Gjõe and subject to abuse from him at his pleasure."

The royal Danish factor who made this reply was of a Jewish family, Milano or Milan, which at the time belonged to the merchant class in Hamburg and was related by marriage to the well known Portuguese Jewish houses of da Costa and de Castro. Gabriel Milan had married a daughter of the famous physician and learned rabbi, Benjamin (Dionys) Mussaphia, a member of the de Castro family, and at the time physician to Christian IV. He had been a soldier, having served under Cardinal Mazarin. In 1667-70 he was a merchant in Amsterdam and acted as banker for Prince George of Denmark. His letters show that he was familiar with Spanish, French, Portuguese, German and Dutch. In July, 1668, he was appointed Danish factor in Amsterdam and from this time on seems to have established connections with prominent Danes. In 1670 he visited Copenhagen and when there was given the title of "factor-general" with a salary of 400 rixdollars a year. In 1671 the king's mother, Queen Sophie Amalie, appointed him her factor to dispose of the products of

her estate at Nyjöbing Castle. Some time about 1675 he lost his wife and remarried a widow, Juliana Regina, born von Breitenbach. In the meantime, Milan had kept up his connection more or less with the Danish court, and became involved, in the interest of some members of the Royal family, in some of the party intrigues of the time. Finally in 1678 he again came to Copenhagen and attempted to collect the advances that he had made to the king. He was granted the right to coin 300,000 rixdollars from Glückstadt but evidently did not avail himself of this right and when later he was asked to remove the mints to Copenhagen he refused on the ground that the metal would cost him too much there. He did, however, receive a compensation of 4% of an issue of 150,000 rixdollars secured through others, but inasmuch as at the time he had a family of thirteen children who were living with his wife at Copenhagen, while he was spending his time at Glückstadt, he found great difficulty in supporting himself and family, and began to lay his plans to secure a civil office. The one obstacle to achieving that ambition seemed to have been his religion, and, therefore, in 1682 the minister of the Catharine Church of Hamburg, at Milan's request, submitted a statement that "his Excellency," Gabriel Milan, had often discussed with the minister concerning the differences between the Catholic and Protestant doctrines and had thereby become convinced of the truth of the Augsburg Confession, after which he received communion. At the same time his financial affairs were in a desperate condition. His creditors had begun proceedings against him in 1680. In 1682 his wife pawned her silverware and in the same year Milan made the statement that for two days he had not had bread in his house and that suicide is the only way out that he sees. Finally in 1684 he intimated in royal quarters that he was prepared to go to the West Indies and engaged himself, despite his fifty-three years, faithfully and truly to perform his duties, and was thereupon on April 26, 1684, commissioned governor of St. Thomas.

The Danes had heretofore been singularly unfortunate in their attempts to secure a proper head for their West India colony. The first governor had lost his life through a mutiny on board the ship which was bringing him back to St. Thomas. The second governor, Nicholas Esmit, fell from power through the uprising of his subordinates. The third governor, Adolphe Esmit, a brother of Nicholas, had just brought to a close a turbulent administration. He had been removed from office because he had

been using the harbor of St. Thomas and the authority of his office to afford shelter and assistance to the pirates who infested West Indian waters. Adolphe Esmi had been hurriedly removed in answer to the demands of the English governor of Nevis who threatened to take the matter into his own hands by coming to St. Thomas, imprisoning the authorities and thus bringing piracy to an end. On March 10, 1684, a meeting of the Danish West India Company was held, and Gabriel Milan was elected governor of St. Thomas over all other candidates because he had "the better training in commercial and trading matters, knew his languages, had good common sense and needed the position." The king ratified the choice. Milan was then instructed to seize the reins of power quickly and resolutely, so that the former governor could not get a chance of instigating the inhabitants to revolt. He was to keep the peace with his neighbors, avoid collusion with sea-robbers, do his best to encourage the production of tobacco and sugar cane, and attempt the introduction of the cultivation of grapes. His salary was fixed at 600 rixdollars besides 150 rixdollars for table expenses, free board and lodging at the fort, and he was to have as his council a merchant who was sent out with him, the lieutenant of the island, and, on special occasions, two planters besides. Supplementary instructions were given him on May 14, 1684, to seize the Esmi property and secure proof of his shortcomings.

The king furnished a ship of war of forty guns and eighty men under Captain J rgen Meyer to take Milan to the West Indies. Relations between Captain Meyer and Milan soon became seriously strained and before they started the company had to intercede between them. Milan's household consisted of sixteen persons besides himself,—his wife, a grown-up son, Felix, four other children and servants. He also took with him 2800 pounds of bar iron, fire butts of Rhenish wine, eight hogsheads of French wine, and other property. He collected his salary in advance. On October 13, 1684, Milan arrived at St. Thomas. Immediately he began to scheme against Esmi and possess himself of the latter's property. He also began to play fast and loose with his council and put his son Felix in place of the lieutenant. Moreover, he began to choose first one and then another of the planters in place of designating two for the place and by this rotational office attempted to prevent them from being effective. He assumed the rank of governor-general and the title of Excellency, and maintained an elaborate table service with twelve courses

of food for his family. He caused Esmi and his wife to be imprisoned. Milan fell sick and for months was confined to his bed by a serious fever. His youngest son died. He began a serious quarrel with Captain Meyer, who thereupon began to get into communication with Esmi and to give ear to the latter's complaints against Milan.

A part of Milan's duties seems to have been that of acting as judge. He discharged his judicial functions with great impatience and with little appreciation of the judicial temperament, and made constant enemies by the judgments he pronounced. His relations with Captain Meyer seem steadily to have become worse. There is much to be said on both sides. Milan represents the ship's crew as a vulgar crowd in a continuous debauch. He had an absolute quarrel with Captain Meyer for mistreating "an unfortunate Jew" and he pictures the captain as a fuming anti-Semite. Milan neglected to complete the cargo for the return voyage and at the same time refused his consent to Captain Meyer's departure until, finally, with the vessel half loaded and without any permission at all, Captain Meyer made up his mind to sail for home and did so at last on March 30, 1685.

Instead of sending Esmi back to Denmark as he should have, Milan retained him as a prisoner on the island and subjected him to inexcusable indignities and cruelties. He seized Nicholas Esmi's plantation and, under his skilful management, developed it into the chief source of sustenance for the colony. Milan developed an arbitrary, headstrong will and used his power to oppress those whom he disliked or who opposed him. He also soon fell into the same error as the former governor,—issuing letters of reprisal against the Spaniards and permitting the holders thereof to go forth on voyages for the purpose of seizing Spanish vessels and bringing them in to St. Thomas.

In June, 1685, Captain Meyer returned home and immediately spread complaints against Milan. Milan was defended by his son, Ferdinand, who held the rank of lieutenant. Finally, a compromise was effected by which a commission was to be sent out to the West Indies for the purpose of clearing up the situation, the king again furnishing a vessel for the purpose. The news of what was going on, coming to Milan at St. Thomas, seemed to spur him on to more extreme and outrageous measures than before and he was guilty of forcing some of his subordinates to sign confessions implicating Esmi in a conspiracy with them to murder Milan, and then, after procuring such confessions, of

killing in a most cruel fashion those who had thus admitted their guilt. In February, 1686, the commission arrived in St. Thomas. They were immediately met by resistance on the part of Milan but the inhabitants of the island refused to support Milan so that he was obliged to surrender. In July of the same year Milan, with the commission and all parties in interest, set sail to return to Denmark and reached Copenhagen the following October. Milan, his wife and children, were placed in the castle and Milan's trial was begun. The case against Milan dragged out for a considerable time. Milan was represented by a lawyer who insisted on taking advantage of every technicality. In November, 1687, the court passed judgment against Milan, providing for the loss of his honor, life and property. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court. The case continued until, finally, in 1689, the eleven judges agreed, on appeal, to condemn Milan to the loss of his honor, life and property. A royal pardon issued exonerated him from having his hand chopped off or being broken on the wheel; but the punishment of death was carried out March 26, 1689. His estate was seized by the West India Company and his plantation confiscated to settle the claim which they had against him, leaving his family in great want. It is suggested that his son, Ferdinand, who was a lieutenant as early as 1683, may have been the father of Gabriel Ferdinand Milan, the painter and court-gilder, who died as vice-mayor of Elsinore.

RECEIPT BOOK OF JUDAH AND MOSES M. HAYS,
COMMENCING JANUARY 12, 1763, AND
ENDING JULY 18, 1776.

BY HAROLD KORN, A. M., PH. D.

Among the many original sources of American colonial history, such as diaries, memoirs, correspondence and newspapers, receipt books of historical value are rare. The Hays receipt book is of special historical interest because of the varied, detailed and accurate information it contains. The book bears testimony to the methodical business character of its owners, and to their commercial and social prominence. It is not necessary at this time to dwell upon the life of Judah Hays and that of his son Moses Michael. The activities of these men have been ably recorded by other members of this Society.¹ It is sufficient to recall that both men were representative Jews, prominent merchants and worthy citizens.

The Hays receipt book is of particular worth on account of its reliability. Some receipt books are merely records made by the payor but lack the indorsement of the payee. In the Hays book each statement or item is signed by the person to whom payment was made. If a person was not able to write and was therefore compelled to mark a cross in substitution for a signature, the name of a witness practically always appears.

The Hays MS. is in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society, at Richmond, Virginia, and an exact and

¹ The numerous references to both Judah and Moses M. can readily be found by examining the index volume to the first twenty *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, p. 211.

complete transcript thereof has been presented to the American Jewish Historical Society by the writer and now forms part of its collections. According to the authorities of the Richmond society, the MS. was probably donated by Samuel Myers who married into the Hays family and was a resident of Petersburg, Virginia, in 1796. On the cover of the receipt book there is printed a large capital H. Beneath this letter the following inscription appears:

Receipt Book H.
commencing
The 12th Day of Jan^y.
1763
New York

It will be seen that there are 296 receipts in the book, totaling about twelve thousand words. The items are numbered in order except for nine receipts which are scattered through the MS. unnumbered. The first 141 vouchers are in the name of Judah and the remainder are in the name of Moses M. Hays. All of these are written in the same excellent hand, apparently that of a clerk, with the exception of receipt No. 1, August 30, 1764, which is in a hand very different from that of any other of the statements. It is on a detached piece of paper pasted on a blank sheet that divides the section of the book that belonged to the father from that which belonged to the son.

The Hays book contains items of special concern to the genealogist, the political economist, the social economist and the general historian. The genealogist will find names of bankers, merchants and tradesmen, Jewish and non-Jewish. Occasionally a particular name or names will arrest attention. For instance, receipt No. 52, October 26, 1763, is specially interesting because it bears two prominent New York names, perpetuated in two well known business streets. On October 26, 1763, Judah Hays paid £40:11:6 to John Bleecker for Elias Desbrosses.

Among the names of Jewish business men that occur in the Hays MS. are those of Jonas Philips (*sic*), who appear as an insolvent debtor, Hyman Levy and Hyman Levy, jr., Abraham Sarzedas, Solomon Simson, Myer Pollock, Abraham I. Abrahams, the schoolmaster, Myer Myers and the ever-present Haym Salomon, the absence of whose name from any record of early American Jewish history might almost be taken as an indictment of its authenticity.

The receipt signed by Salomon is of special interest. He was perhaps the foremost Jew of the Revolutionary era and any light that can be thrown upon his life is of historical value. The voucher signed by him is No. 121 in the first section of the book and is dated July 10, 1764. The significance of this date is apparent when it is recalled that previous to the finding of the above receipt no documentary evidence existed to show that Salomon was in America before 1772.² It should be stated that the receipt is signed Hyam Solomons but these changes in the spelling of the name do not disprove that the signature was that of the man known to history as Haym Salomon.³ A careful comparison of the writing

² Dr. Herbert Friedenwald in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," vol. x, p. 653, says: "It is probable that he left his native country after the partition of Poland in 1772." Judge Charles P. Daly writes: "Prominent over all others, of the Jewish persuasion, was Haym Salomon. He was a native of Poland. When he came to this country, I do not know, nor do I know anything respecting him, until after the breaking out of the Revolution." ("The Settlement of the Jews in North America," edited by Max J. Kohler, New York, 1893, p. 58.) Markens states: "He was in New York when the British took possession of the city" ("The Hebrews in America," New York, 1888, p. 66.) The articles relating to Salomon in the *Publications* of this Society will be found in the index volume, *supra*, p. 480 *et seq.*

³ The change of a letter or two in a name is not an uncommon occurrence. Witness the frequent change of Cohen to Cohn, Kohn, Cohan and Cowen, also Myers, Meyers and Mayer.

attached to the voucher with other signatures of Salomon shows that the inscriptions were made by the same hand.⁴ The same receipt reveals the fact, apparently heretofore not known, that he had a brother, Alexander Solomons, who lived in Pensacola, Florida, and did considerable business as a money broker.⁵

The receipt book shows that both Judah and Moses M. Hays traded with many non-Jews, including Theodore Van Wyck, Abraham Van Deussen, Thomas Ludlow, jr., John Dikeman, Beverly Robinson, William Beekman, Peter Jay, Stephen De Lancy, Peter R. Livingston, and John Livingston. Practically every one of these belongs to a family prominent in the early life of New York. While directing attention to names it may be well to mention that Richard Bache was retained as a lawyer by Judah Hays,⁶ and that Samuel Clossy was his physician, to whom £15:7:0 was paid for attendance upon Mr. Hays in his last illness.⁷

Among the unexpected impressions that many will get from examining the vouchers is one that concerns the number of tradesmen and mechanics patronized by the Hays family. They were as numerous as those engaged by a family of means of the present day. A few of the men employed were Robert Andrews, locksmith, John Becket, carpenter, John Thorpe, blacksmith, John King, mason, John Ellis, glazier, John Ent, watch repairer. Simon Crygier was the worthy shoemaker who seems to have obtained the entire patronage of the Hays family, receiving single payments exceeding £5.

⁴ The writer has compared the signature in the Hays MS. with later signatures of Salomon and feels safe in saying that the writing in the book was done by Haym Salomon. Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, who is well acquainted with Salomon's writing, kindly consented to examine the inscription in the Hays MS. and agrees with the writer that it is genuine.

⁵ See receipts dated July 10, 19, 20, 23, 24, 1764.

⁶ Receipt dated January 18, 1764.

⁷ Receipt dated October 22, 1764.

The political economist will find the receipt book very valuable for the information it gives regarding the prices paid for foodstuffs, clothing and rent. There are not many sources for prices paid in past times. Some of the newspapers made a practice of printing the cost of a few commodities, but newspaper information of this character in colonial America was meagre and not very reliable. The figures in the receipt book may be accepted as accurate because they were vouched for by both buyer and seller.

The value of nearly every essential article used in a household, salt, flour, sugar, butter, etc., may be learned from the Hays MS. An interesting study in comparative prices may be made by contrasting the cost of food in 1764 with the prices paid before the World's War, and again with those paid at the present day. Mrs. Hays was no more troubled by the high cost of living than her son Moses M. Hays was concerned with the problem of prohibition. On October 24, 1764, he gave 16s. for "one dozen beer,"⁸ and on July 11, 1765, he expended 35s. "in full for freight for a pipe Wine imported p^r. the *King George*, Capt. Hamilton, from Madeire."⁹ The amount spent for clothing, including the cost of shoes for every member of the Hays household, even for the servants and the slaves, may be had from the receipt book.

Judah Hays lived in a house owned by Peter Jay, to whom he paid a yearly rent of £125.¹⁰ The tenant made all repairs at his expense and paid the taxes. The character and cost of repairs, which are very interesting from a real estate viewpoint, are plainly shown by the receipts. After Judah Hays' death his widow and son moved to a much cheaper residence, owned by Mary Brockholst, to whom they paid an annual rent of £25. In addition they leased a stable in Mill Street, from Elias Desbrosses, for which they gave £8 a year.

⁸ Receipt of the same date.

⁹ Receipt of the same date.

¹⁰ Receipt, June 23, 1763.

The tax that Mr. Hays paid on October 26, 1763, for the Peter Jay house was £7:11:8, and he was assessed in addition £3:15:10 for the minister, poor, lamp and watch tax.¹¹ Ministers of the dominating religion in a community were considered in colonial America just as much a civic necessity as other town officials, such as a mayor, a sheriff or a magistrate. Citizens, irrespective of their religious belief, were compelled to pay a tax for the support of their town clergyman. The lamp tax covered street lighting and the watch tax was for police protection. Taxes seem to have been paid semi-annually, in the early spring and in the late autumn. The tax-rate or assessment must have changed every six months for the amount of both estate and house tax always varied.

Like the political economist, the social economist will find several items of special interest in the Hays MS. Judah Hays followed the common practice of his day in purchasing lottery tickets. On March 28, 1763, he spent £48 for twenty-four tickets.¹² Like other well-to-do men of his period he bought negroes and the time of indentured servants. He paid £80 for a negro man named Aaron and £20 for four years' service of an indentured boy named John Camble.¹³

The ladies, who are especially concerned with the domestic science branch of social economy, will be impressed by some of the items relating to female servants. The migratory character of this particular species of humanity seems to have been as marked in the eighteenth as it is in the twentieth century. From August 17, 1764, to April 16, 1766, a lapse of twenty months, ten of the species made their entrance into and their exit from the Hays household, the average length of service, therefore, being two months. The palm for domestic longevity must be awarded to one Marion Mahon,

¹¹ Receipt, March 21, 1763.

¹² Receipt of the same date.

¹³ Receipt of July 28, 1763; also November 16, 1763.

who survived three months. Her career was brought to an untimely end when she indulged in the eternal indoor sport of maid-servants, breaking china. On October 29, 1765, when paying the said Marion her wages due, £1:14:0, Mrs. Rebecca Hays deducted 8s. for broken china.¹⁴ From that date exit Marion Mahon. The average wages paid to female servants was 17s. monthly, or, figuring roughly according to the worth of the shilling before the World's War, about \$4.25. House-workers, women engaged to work by the day, received 5s. or \$1.25 weekly.

It may be well to give a few general impressions that one obtains from reading the Hays receipt book. The MS. is a miniature of American colonial life. The comparative complexity of that life will surprise many. The charges for such varied items as professional fees, wages, freight, insurance, etc., help to lessen the idea of a simple life, such as one might expect to find in colonial America. Mr. Hays kept his sedan chair in a public stable, just as one would garage an automobile to-day. Mrs. Hays paid Isaac Marschalk £1:3:0 for her Passover baking,¹⁵ just as one might pay a caterer to-day. Mrs. Hays bought her candles, gave her silk gowns out to be dyed and imported her fine linens from Ireland. It would be natural for many to assume that in colonial America women did their own baking, dipped the household candles themselves, dyed their own gowns and spun their flax on a spinning wheel.

¹⁴ Receipt of October 29, 1765.

¹⁵ Receipt dated April 29, 1765.

NOTES.

AN EARLY NEW YORK LEGAL DOCUMENT.

[The subjoined document, the original of which was presented to the American Jewish Historical Society by Henry Goldsmith, of New York, is of interest by reason of its references to Moses Levy, "chirurgéon," then the equivalent of barber, and, more widely, because it illustrates the form of declaration for goods sold and delivered under the system of common law pleading which operated during the eighteenth century and until the middle of the nineteenth in New York.—F.]

Mayors Court

A°. D°. Anna Rena &c.

City of New York Ss Nathaniel Smith was Sumōned to answer Moses Levy Chrgⁿ. For that he knows the said Nathaniel the first day of April in the tenth year of the rien of our now Lady Anne of great Britain &c Queen at the Dockward of the City of New York (within the iuridiccion of this Court) was indebted to the said Moses in the Sum of Six pounds lawful money of New York for diverse goods wares & merchandizes unto the said Nathaniel by said Moses at the Spial instance & request of the said Nathaniel before that time sold & delivered And being so indebted the said Nathaniel afterwards the day year & place aforesaid in consideracōn thereof assumed upon himself & to the said Moses the af[oresaid] thereto faithfully promised that he the said Nathaniel the aforesaid six pounds when thereunto required wel & faithfully to pay provided Notwithst. the said Nathaniel his promise & assumptiōn aforesaid made not regarding but designing & fraudulently intending the said Moses in this behalf craftily & subtly to deprive & defraud the said six pounds nor any pt thereof hitherto hath not paid (although often required &c) but him to pay hath altogether refused & stil doth refuse to the damage of the said Moses eight pounds And therefore he bringeth his Suit &c

George Bradshaw (?)

for Moses Levy cr

[Endorsed:]

Mayors

Court

Levy

vs

Smith

A°. D°. Anne reg

Narr[ative]

July 1711

THOUGHTS ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY.¹

The historical worker and the student of history live today in an environment where the leading minds in their profession and specialty are seeking to construct a systematic, all-embracing philosophy of history. Both the leaders and their myriads of followers, under the pressure of this environment, approach the facts of history, in consequence, from the point of view of a special theory, and seek to fit the material lying about them, awaiting treatment, into definite compartments of ideas. They label this material, after subjecting it to various processes familiar to literary workers, in such manner as at once to convey to the reader their own particular opinion of what was, is and ever will be the prime factor in every human action. They attack the problems challenging solution in various ways, by divers means, from different angles. With them, then, political, social, religious, moral and ethical points of view are all equivalents so far as the methods of interpreting historical facts and conditions are concerned.

The political, social, religious, moral and ethical methods of historical enquiry have latterly been joined by newer forms of explanation of historical events. These may be mainly grouped under the following heads: philosophical, metaphysical, ideological and, especially, sociological and economic.

Professor Eduard Meyer, the great German historian, follows Hegel in treating nations in history as creatures of volition, as the incarnate results of an idea. He declares that a nationality is formed out of a number of groups of human beings, who, in any specified direction, act in unison and who wish to be regarded as a cohesive unit. For him, then, as for the late Edward Augustus Freeman, the outstanding English historian, there can be no history except universal history. Freeman, in his great Rede lecture of 1872, laid down this theory as is well known with almost categorical emphasis.

We need not apply the incidents of this theory to the facts of Jewish history in general, much less to the facts of Jewish his-

¹ These remarks, reprinted from the columns of *The Reform Advocate*, of June 19, 1920, vol. lviii, pp. 469, 470, are partly based on the paper presented by me under the title, "The Economic Interpretation of American Jewish History," at the twenty-second annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society at Philadelphia in 1914. See, also, *The American Hebrew*, September 30, 1921, *passim*.

tory in America, for the result follows with obvious clearness. Indeed, many a Jewish nationalist supports his argument by dragging in the ideas associated with the great name of Eduard Meyer. For such "I wish, therefore I am" suffices. But he forgets that the historiographer of this school of thought cannot legitimately or consistently in view of these principles consider Jewish history in general, standing by itself. For, by this token Jewish history is but a part, and an infinitesimally minute and negligible part, of the general history of the world since its creation.

What, then, becomes of American Jewish history in the presence of this theory illustrated? Even if American Jewish history absolutely dovetails into Jewish history in general, particularly Jewish history in Europe, in view of the undoubted circumstance that our history represents successive waves of Jewish immigration westward, it cannot hope to stand up under this theory.

Professor Wilhelm Ostwald, another eminent German philosophic mind, regards the physical-wave theory, which may be best represented by the oscillations of a pendulum, as satisfactorily and successfully explanatory of historical causes and effects. Let us apply this method of interpreting facts to Jewish history, specifically to the history of Jewry in America. It will necessarily compel us to view events in broad perspective, since only then and thereby can we discover the "physical waves" running through any considerable and related number of data.

Again, Dr. Frederick A. Woods, a Boston investigator, utilizes his knowledge of the science of physiology to enforce and illustrate what he calls the gametic or germ-cell theory of history for he argues that the laws of history are parcel of the rules governing all organic existence. It is unnecessary narrowly to describe this interesting theory of history, which appeals with even greater force to the physician than to the ordinary historical student, or to apply it to Jewish history.

It is needless for us to enter upon a detailed description of various historical theories, based on material data, which are conveniently treated as economic interpretations of history, for such requires specific and detailed illustration to bring out their virtue, and this illustrative material would extend to impossible proportions. Every economic historian has a pet hobby, and this statement may be explained in any direction desired. To indicate it pointedly and perhaps ridiculously: Werner Sombart, the German historical writer, in his bafflingly-interesting, opposition-

compelling treatise on the Jews and modern capitalism, declares that California became the seat of the great discovery of gold in 1849 because Jews had settled there!

Students of the history of the Jews in America, and of the causes which led to Jewish emigration from all other parts of the world to the Western hemisphere, have now proceeded far enough in the prosecution of their researches to pause and objectively to contemplate the body of facts which they have accumulated thus far.

By objective contemplation we refer to the act which produces philosophical views of Jewish history, for the patient chronicler who simply sets down fact after fact can never blossom into a philosophic historian. Nor does he approach his subject from the broadly theoretical point of view if he adheres to outworn methods of historical treatment. If, for example, he declares that the Jews came here and prospered in America because God, blessed be He, willed they should, his crusading piety and energy are scarcely likely to convince a critic who has drunk deep at the materialistic spring. The latter, equally well-informed, will tell his readers that the Jews came to America for a variety of reasons, not the least recognizable one of which was that thereby they hoped to improve their material position. And when he who interprets the facts of history materially enforces his argument by illustrative examples, he will find a wealth of data at his disposal.

Of course, it should never be assumed that historical workers may give us theories without the facts to support them. Especially is this true of writers who deal with the history of the Jews in America. Their primary function is to collect the historical particulars of their chosen field of investigation and carefully to sift and classify the evidence these offer in support of their views. In other words, every theory which seeks to explain the facts of Jewish history in America must be traced against the background of facts.

The word "background" is susceptible of various interpretations. To some it means that before one may speak of the Jews in America, it is proper, indeed necessary, to consider the Jews in various other lands from which successive waves of Jewish immigration to America emanated. Were the word taken literally the result would be that the forest could not be seen on account of its trees. Too much "background" is as much a defect and a disadvantage as too little. In the former case the particular

subject of investigation is engulfed by collateral enquiries. It is not necessary for the student of the history of the Jews in America to deal extensively with the history of the Spanish Inquisition in the land of its birth, because of its undoubted influence on the trend of Jewish development on this side of the Atlantic. A brief reference to the main fact is all that is required, the more especially as the incidence of the Inquisition in America brings out all that is necessary for the background of the picture of its activities here.

Bearing the foregoing considerations well in mind and judging writings of American Jewish historical interest thereby it may be asserted that, only after the worker has carefully ordered his facts and usefully marshalled the material at his command, has he the right to set up his own working hypothesis in explanation of these facts. Whenever we read of an appeal to what is grandiloquently called the "verdict of history," we may be reasonably sure that this verdict but represents the private, personal opinion of the worker, for, to speak with George Macaulay Trevelyan, "the average historical writer, like the average man, instinctively clings to his delusions,—hence the cant with which so-called histories are replete." This cant against which Samuel Johnson inveighed with so much force, is twin brother to the rhetorical element which forms a dominant note in American political life. It is to the lasting credit of the late Solomon Schechter, so conspicuous an exemplar of recent American Jewish scholarship, that he ever insisted on Jewish Americans freeing their minds of cant. He intended this to apply to all departments of American Jewish activity, religious, communal and historical.

Another important detail for the elaboration of a philosophy of American Jewish history may be found in what has been called the biographical treatment of history. Biography is an indispensably important feature of our subject. Biography enables us to realize life without theory, and, upon this valuable realization, to set up a workable theory of life. For, we may be sure that the American Jewish biographer will avoid unfit themes and treat fit themes with scrupulous accuracy, with perfect frankness, with discriminating sympathy and with resolute brevity. The Jewish Publication Society of America must have been persuaded of the virtue of this method, otherwise its series of books on Jewish worthies are scarcely worth while. This series, be it noted, includes a projected account of Judah Touro, an American Jewish worthy, if there ever was such. Professor Pierce Butler's

painstaking account of Judah P. Benjamin, although its Jewish interest is largely incidental, offers another good illustration of the validity of our argument.

It is, therefore, possible for us to construct a philosophy of Jewish history in America from the present state of the facts at our disposal. Such a philosophy is not all-inclusive, nor is it likely to be concurred in by every thinker and worker in this special field. It is possible, however, for us to set up theories which serve to explain the historical development of our American Jewry and to ground these largely on the materialistic sides of this development. If, then, the Jews came hither for the sake of (to put it bluntly and succinctly) "the full dinner-pail," this circumstance does not involve a sacrifice of our great ideals. The individual settler was the forerunner of the group, the group of the congregation, the congregation in turn of the national organization in its myriad forms. But when we go back to the first of these we deal with prime causes, and, no matter how refined our working-out of American Jewish facts be, idealistic effects may and often do well follow as a devolution in the wake of material causes. "Material" here means real, and real relates inevitably to the life of man. By biography, then, our views have positive ground on which to stand. Biography, let us repeat it once more, is life without theory. The theory must be preceded by life.

ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG.

A NEW YORK JEWISH SILVERSMITH OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

On April 7, 1920, the Walpole Galleries, of New York, sold at auction a collection of antique silver, such as was used in America during the Colonial period and later. This was gathered by M. T. O'Shaughnessy, of Hempstead, Long Island, N. Y., and contained a conspicuous example of the artistic craftsmanship of Myer Myers, prominent in the affairs of the Congregation Shearith Israel in his day and frequently mentioned in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*.

The catalogue (No. 146), a copy of which has been presented to the Society by Henry Goldsmith, of New York, contains (p. 12) a representation of the "massive silver tureen made in New York City, circa 1760, by Myer Myers, one of the most distinguished of

the eighteenth-century American silversmiths." At the sale the piece fetched eight hundred dollars. It is described in the catalogue (pp. 25, 27), as follows:

MYER MYERS. WORKED AS A SILVERSMITH IN NEW YORK,
1746 TO 1790.

41. TUREEN. A massive and very handsome silver tureen, with boat-shaped body, contracted under the rim, and resting upon four very finely modeled rococo legs, with shell feet and shell-like ornaments at juncture with body. The cover is domical and has a broad border of overlapping acanthus leaves above the rim and two shields on either side, engraved with a crest and initials, the former being repeated on the body. The cover is surmounted by a handle formed of cast and chased rococo scroll and shell work, and both the cover and body are embossed with flowers and foliage on a matted ground. [It is probable that some of this surface embossing was done at a date later than the original fabrication of the piece.] The extreme length of the tureen is $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches and the height to top of cover $10\frac{1}{2}$.

Date, *ca.* 1750-1760.

This large and finely made vessel is perhaps one of the rarest and most striking pieces of antique American silver that has ever been offered for sale. It was made by one of the most distinguished of the colonial silversmiths and differs from the general run of American pieces in its massiveness and ornate character, resembling somewhat the "magnificent baronial silver" so much in vogue in the mother country at the time. Some of the old newspapers contain quaintly worded advertisements, showing that chased and decorated articles of silverware were made in America during the colonial period; but such pieces are now very rare. Joseph Pinto, a New York silversmith, advertised for sale in 1761 "a very fine silver chased turene" along with other articles both "chased and plain." Tureens are particularly rare. It is certain that not a single example was shown in any of the exhibitions of American silver held so far at Boston and New York. The fact that they were heavy and contained a considerable quantity of the precious metal, a circumstance which would cause them to be among the first to go to the melting-pot in times of stress, perhaps, largely accounts for their great rarity at the present time.

Myer Myers, the maker, was a Jew, and his name is prominently connected with the early history of that race in America; and that he was a man of character, and was held in high esteem by his fellow craftsmen of the city, is shown by the fact that he was chosen president of the Silversmiths' Society—noticed in the New York City Directory for 1786. He was, besides, a most capable and finished workman, as is evidenced by the few fine pieces of plate, bearing his mark, which have come down to us; notable among these being the six historic *Crowns of the Law* belonging to the Jewish Synagogue at Newport, R. I., the oldest institution of the kind in the country. These pieces are beautifully wrought, are richly chased and pierced, and exhibit a degree of intricate workmanship considerably above the average of the period in America.

It seems to have been a custom among 18th century silversmiths to draw attention to themselves in a business way by producing some particularly striking piece of plate and offering it as a prize to be drawn for in a lottery, widely advertised. Simeon Soumaine, a New York silversmith, in 1727, re-

sorted to an expedient of this kind in offering "£501 of Silver and Gold work" wrought by himself "to be drawn at Mr. Stevens in Perth Amboy." Henry Jernegan, of London, however, appears to have carried off the palm, in 1734, by producing a wine cistern of enormous size, weighing almost a quarter of a ton and holding upwards of 60 gallons of wine. This, "perhaps the most immense and one of the most elaborate pieces of decorative plate in the world," after having been lost sight of for over a century and a half, was discovered a few years ago in the Winter Palace at St. Petersburg among the treasures of the late Czar. The tureen above described stands out as such a unique piece of American silver, that it seems probable it was made for some such purpose, having been designed especially to demonstrate the maker's skill as a silversmith.

THE TAXATION OF JEWS IN JAMAICA.

As an addendum to "The Jews Tribute in Jamaica," by the late George Fortunatus Judah,² it may be of interest to state that amongst the laws passed by the Assembly of Jamaica and confirmed by the King in Council on December 26, 1695, was "An Act for raising money, for, and towards the Defence of this Island." It was occasioned by the failure of the ships of war ordered for the purpose of safeguarding Jamaica, to achieve their object:

The Enemies small Crafts, Barque-Luengoes and nimble Vessels, having from time to time infested the remote Parts thereof, and Landed their Men, and made great Incursions into the Country, and taken off, and carried away a very considerable Number of Slaves, and other Goods and Chattels of great Value, at several times, from many of Their Majesties good Subjects Inhabiting thereabout

The Assembly, nothing daunted by the recent earthquake, expressed themselves as ready and willing to the utmost of their ability to provide for the defence of the Island, which was to be achieved by the buying or hiring, providing, victualling, and manning of two good sloops of war, which with fifty officers and men, were to cruise for six months "towards the Guarding of the Sea Coasts of their Majesties Island," and to act in any offensive against Hispaniola or Cuba; and these sloops, together with the cost of a party to go against rebellious negroes was estimated to cost £4, 303. 3. 9.

This sum was to raised parish by parish, by taxes on slaves, horsekind, cattle, sheep and goats; all overseers and hired servants had to pay six pence in the pound on their wages; and

² Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, No. 18, p. 149 *et seq.*

handicrafts and tradesmen were also taxed, as were rented houses. A special assessment was made for the Jews, which ran as follows:

And be it further Enacted and Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, that the Nation and People of the *Jews* Residing within this Island, Pay or cause to be Paid, towards the Raising of the said Sum of Mony before mentioned, and expressed to be Raised on the Inhabitants of this Island, over and above and besides the Tax as aforesaid Assessed, the full Sum of Seven Hundred and Fifty Pounds, Currant Mony of this Island, to be rated, Assessed, Taxed, Collected and Paid in by *Solomon Ararij, Jacob deLeon, Moses Toiro, Jacob Mendez Guteres, Jacob Henriques, Jacob deLeon, Moses Jesurun Cardoso, Samuel Gabay, Jacob Lopez Torres, Isaac Coutinho, Isaac Nunes Gonsales and Abraham Nunes*, or any Five of them, into the Hands of the Receiver or Receivers hereafter mentioned, Impowred and Appointed to Receive the same, at, or within One Month after the Tenth day of *June*, which will be in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Six Hundred Ninety Three, any thing herein to the Contrary notwithstanding.

In default of payment the sum of £250 was to be added. The full amount was to be secured by distraint on the goods and chattels of the Jews.

FRANK CUNDALL.

THE JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ILLINOIS.

A keen interest in the early history of the Jews of Chicago and Illinois was evinced by Dr. B. Felsenthal, who wrote an essay in 1894, "The History of the Jews of Chicago,"³ and by Herman Eliassof, who published an essay in 1903 on "The Jews of Chicago,"⁴ another entitled "The Jews in Illinois,"⁵ who wrote the articles on Chicago and Illinois for "The Jewish Encyclopedia,"⁶ and who collaborated with Dr. Felsenthal in 1897 in the preparation of a "History of Kehillath Anshe Maarabh" in honor of the golden jubilee of that congregation.

But it was due principally to the initiative, persistency, and idealism of Hyman L. Meites, a printer, journalist, and publicist, who was born in Odessa, Russia, in 1877, and who came to Chicago in 1891, that the Jewish Historical Society of Illinois was duly organized at a meeting held in the building of the Chicago Historical Society, on April 30, 1918.

³ *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 2, pp. 21-27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 11, pp. 117-130.

⁵ *The Reform Advocate*, May 4, 1901.

⁶ Vols. IV, VI.

The constitution and by-laws were adopted at a special meeting held at Sinai Social Center, May 14, 1918, and contain the following statement of the objects of the society:

1. To gather and preserve historical documents, illustrations and data of all kinds, bearing upon the activities of Jews in Illinois since their first settlement.

2. To mark with tablets, historic spots in the State of Illinois that are of Jewish interest.

3. To publish information from time to time bearing upon the history of the Jews in Illinois.

4. To encourage the study of Jewish history, communal and universal.

At the same meeting, the following officers and directors were elected for the first year: Elias Greenebaum, honorary president; Julius Rosenwald, president; Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, first vice-president; Henry L. Frank, second vice-president; Nathan D. Kaplan, third vice-president; M. E. Greenebaum, treasurer; H. L. Meites, secretary. Directors: The foregoing, and Mrs. Benjamin Davis, James Davis, Eli B. Felsenthal, Oscar Foreman, M. Ph. Ginsburg, Max Klee, Adolf Kraus, Sidney Loeb, Judge Julian W. Mack, Lessing Rosenthal, Samuel Phillipson, Emanuel F. Selz, Philip L. Seman, Max Shulman, Rabbi Saul Silber, Dr. Joseph Stolz, Mrs. Julius Stone, and Dr. A. B. Yudelson. The charter was secured November 2, 1918.

Interest in the organization and plans of the Jewish Historical Society of Illinois was stimulated by the state-wide celebration of the centennial of the admission of Illinois into the Union in 1818. The society received the hearty endorsement and encouragement of Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, president of the Illinois Centennial Commission and vice-president of the Chicago Historical Society. An elaborate "History of the Jews of Chicago," artistically executed, is (1919) in preparation. By special permission of the United States Government, a bronze memorial tablet containing the inscription: "On this site stood in 1851, the first Jewish House of Worship in the State of Illinois," was placed on the southwest corner of the Post Office building, corner of Clark Street and Jackson Boulevard, by the Jewish Historical Society of Illinois and unveiled amidst appropriate exercises on Chicago Day, October 9, 1918, by Elias Greenebaum, the oldest living Jewish resident of Chicago. The formal dedication services were held on Columbus Day, October 12, 1918, in the rooms of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, located in the Post Office Building.

The earliest Jewish settlers of Illinois are nearly all dead. Much valuable historical material relating to them perished in the great Chicago fire of 1871. Unfortunately most of the records of the more recent emigrations from Eastern Europe were carelessly destroyed. Yet some homes still possess mementoes, souvenirs, pictures, pamphlets, and newspapers of the pioneer times. Some families still recall the traditions of the early days. Printed and MS. reports of our communal institutions are extant somewhere. Valuable records of thousands of Jewish families dating back to the fire of 1871 may be found in the archives of the Associated Jewish Charities. It is still possible to get data regarding the movements of the early Jewish settlers of Illinois outside of the city of Chicago. The Jewish Historical Society of Illinois hopes by the intensive cultivation of this smaller field of study to be able to rescue from oblivion some facts of historical importance, and by specialized research to further within a given sphere, the aim of the parent body, the American Jewish Historical Society, "to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of America."

JOSEPH STOLZ.

AN INTERESTING REFERENCE TO WARDER CRESSON.

Jerusalem has always been the goal of the pilgrim, and from time immemorial travellers without number have wended their way to the Holy City. Considering the number of books on the subject, one is almost forced to the conclusion that each traveller reduced his impressions to writing. These diaries and books of travel contain much that is of Jewish interest, though the missionary flavor evident in so many of them makes us squirm. Yet a few courageous writers like Harriet Martineau do not hesitate to declare that missionary work among the Jews in Jerusalem is worthless, so few converts are made; though I have found no other writer go so far as she does in characterizing the missions as a "religious luxury" which the English permit themselves. Most travellers, however, laud the missionaries and their work, and William Makepeace Thackeray is no exception. He incorporated his impressions of a journey to the East made in 1844, in a little work called "From Cornhill to Cairo."⁷ The chapter on Jerusalem naturally contains many references to the Jews, none

⁷ "The Paris Sketch Book of Mr. M. A. Titmarsh, and Eastern Sketches: A Journey from Cornhill to Cairo." By William Makepeace Thackeray. The Eastern Sketches were first published in 1845.

too flattering for the most part, but of specific American interest are his references to Warder Cresson. Though Cresson is not mentioned by name, there is no mistaking his identity,—he was emphatically *sui generis*.

There seem to be polyglot services here. I saw books of prayer in Hebrew, Greek and German Here we are all assembled on the Sunday after our arrival Even that stout anti-prelatist, the American Consul, who has left his house and fortune in America in order to witness the coming of the Millenium, who believes it to be so near that he has brought a dove with him from his native land (which bird he solemnly informed us was to survive the expected Advent), was affected by the good old words and service. He swayed about and moaned in his place at various passages; during the sermon he gave especial marks of sympathy and approbation

. . . . I have mentioned our fellow-traveller, the Consul General for Syria of the United States. He was a tradesman, who had made a considerable fortune, and lived at a country-house in comfortable retirement. But his opinion is, that the prophecies of Scripture are about to be accomplished; that the day of the return of the Jews is at hand, and the glorification of the restored Jerusalem. He is to witness this—he and a favorite dove with which he travels; and he forsook home and comfortable country-house in order to make this journey. He has no other knowledge of Syria but what he derives from the prophecy; and this (as he takes the office gratis) has been considered a sufficient reason for his appointment by the United States Government. As soon as he arrived, he sent and demanded an interview with the Pasha; explained to him his interpretation of the Apocalypse, in which he has discovered that the Five Powers and America are about to intervene in Syrian affairs; and the infallible return of the Jews to Palestine. The news must have astonished the Lieutenant of the Sublime Porte, and since the days of the Kingdom of Munster under his Anabaptist Majesty, John of Leyden, I doubt whether any government has received or appointed so queer an ambassador. The kind, worthy, simple man took me to his temporary consul-house at the American Missionary Establishment; and, under pretense of treating me to white wine, expounded his ideas; talked about futurity as he would about an article in *The Times*; and had no more doubt of seeing a divine kingdom established than you that there will be a levée next spring at St. James's

ELFRIDA C. SOLIS-COHEN.

A CABALISTIC MS. FROM THE LIBRARY OF JUDAH MONIS.*

In an introductory note prefixed to his sermon at the baptism of Judah Monis (March 27, 1722), Rev. Benjamin Colman, the preacher on that occasion, wrote:

As to Mr. Monis himself, it must be confessed that he seems a very valuable proselyte (as a learned person has said to me of him), and would

* See *Proceedings*, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 1919, vol. lli, p. 285 *et seq.*, especially pp. 307-309.

be so esteemed by the learned and pious in one profession or the other of Christianity. He is truly read and learned in the Jewish Cabbala and Rabbins, a master and critic in the Hebrew. He reads, speaks, writes, and interprets it with great readiness and accuracy.

In the second of the two essays printed together with the discourses by Colman and by Monis himself at his baptism, under the title "Nothing but the Truth," Monis undertakes to prove the doctrine of the Trinity,

both out of the Old Testament, and with the authority of the Cabalistical Rabbies, ancient and modern; and that said doctrine is not a novelty, as his country-men do think but is ancient as the Bible itself.

In the essay itself he quotes several passages from

that famous book, more ancient than the Talmud itself, composed by one of the sages of the Mishnau by the name of Rabbi Simeon Ben Johauy, called Zohar, *i. e.*, a Light.

He cites also the Sefer Yesirah, which he quotes for substance, from memory. Other Cabalistic authors referred to in the essay are, Rabbi Judah ha-Hasid, Joseph Gikatilla, Jacob Sasportas' "Holy Temple";⁹ also, Rabbi Moses (?) Caro, "in the name of that great and famous Rabbi called Rabbanoo Bahauya."¹⁰ Except the Zohar, to which references are made by the page, Monis' quotations from the Cabalistic writings appear to be all made from memory. They show that he had some reading in this field, and that, like numerous other converts he found his way to the trinity through the emanation philosophy of the Cabala. But what he put in print does not carry us further than this. Fortunately it is possible to supplement from another source the evidence his essay gives of Cabalistic predilections.

Harvard College Library possesses a MS. volume which belonged to Monis and is in part in his handwriting, containing copies of cabalistic works or extracts from them. It was left by Monis' will with all his books, "whether in the Hebrew or other languages," to his brother-in-law, the Rev. John Martyn,¹¹ and

⁹ I. e., Albas, the *Hekal ha-Kodesh* of Moses, edited by Sasportas, Amsterdam, 1653.

¹⁰ Bahya ben Asher, "Commentary on the Pentateuch." In his discourse and essays, Monis cites various passages from the Talmud, *Bere-shith Rabba*, *Echa Rabba*, *Midrash Tehillim*; Maimonides, "at the end of his book called Raubenu Moshe," and *Moreh Nebochim*; Ibn Ezra, Rashi, David Kimchi (*Shorashim*), de Pomis (*Zemach David*), Menasseh ben Israel, and Isaac Abrabanel.

¹¹ *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 22, p. 23.

was given to the College Library by Martyn in 1767, where it has reposed since that time.¹² At the top of the first page of writing, the word "Judah Monis' Book" have been canceled, very likely after it passed into Martyn's possession, but are still distinctly legible. At the bottom of the last page of the manuscript (f. 186b) Monis has written his name in a Hebrew cipher alphabet. On the *recto* of the first fly-leaf at the end, by his hand, are several other cipher or Cabalistic alphabets with the corresponding Hebrew square character above each letter. Beneath the second of these and in its characters is written, יהודה מוניש. Then follows: *Scriptura Coelestis*, *Scriptura Malachim*, *Scriptura Transitus Fluvii*. On the *verso*: *De characteribus et Sigillis Spirituum*, two alphabets, with the corresponding English letters over them. Finally, "Judah Monis Book," written in each of these two ciphers, with the English, as above, over and under them respectively. On the outer fly leaf, *recto*: Jn° J. Martyni 1764.¹³

The volume contains 372 pages, measuring 21.5 x 15.5 cm. The writing on the page covers approximately 19 x 12.5 cm., and runs 35 lines and upwards to the page; but as it is not all the work of one scribe, there is no uniformity in the latter particulars. The volume is made up of ten pieces, ranging in length from 3 or 4 pages to 150. The first (f. 1a-44a) is in Monis' handwriting, and is signed by him at the end. The others are in several different hands and scripts. None of them, so far as a cursory inspection shows, bears either the name of the scribe or the date. What we have is, therefore, a collection of tracts or excerpts which Monis had transcribed for himself, or acquired from others, and bound up together.

Since he can hardly have had much opportunity to make such a collection in the New World, it is at least a reasonable surmise that he brought the MSS. with him across the water.

The contents of the volume are as follows:

I. f. 1a-44a.

בס"ד

פירוש אדרא קדישא דנשא מס' אמת ליעקב

f. 44a.

ע"כ אני יהודה מוניש מצאתי

תם ונשלם קצת פירוש אדרא קדישא מספר אמת ליעקב תהילות
לאל שוכן ערבות.

¹² The MS. was inspected by Prof. Richard Gottheil about the year 1895. See G. A. Kohut, in *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. xiv, p. 226 (1898).

¹³ The date at which it came into Martyn's hands,

II. f. 46a-48b.¹⁴

פירוש השמות הנמצאות לרוב בספרי המקובלים זלה"ה
פי' שמות הספירה הראשונה.

III. f. 49a-50b.¹⁵

ערת אני רוצה לכתוב עשרה נקודים שמצאתי בדרך קצרה.

IV. f. 52a-56b.

סוד מצות השבת כפי דעת המאור הגדול בוצינא דנהורא כנפי
יונה הה"ר יצחק לוריא זצוק"ל וקודם אבאר סוד קבלת שבת.

V. f. 59a-61a.

פי' ב' מאמרי' מספר הזוהר מפרשת בראשית בקיצור נמרץ
המסכי' יבין.

VI. f. 63a-75b.

סוד ואל תכנס לפניך תפילת עובדי דרכים.

Other "mysteries," with sub-titles, follow.

VII. f. 77a-99a.

הקדמת.

זה ספר מאירת עינים.

אשר הוא לקוט מספרים של הא"ר"י הקדוש ובפרט מספר עמק
המלך מן הר"ח"ו הקדוש תלמיד מובהק מן הא"ר"י הקדוש זצ"ל
תנצב"ה.

ודע כי כל מה שכתבתי הכל שמעתי מפי מורי זלה"ה: f. 99a.
עצמו ואני עשיתי חיבור א' לברו.

VIII. f. 100a-105a.¹⁶

בס"ד לשון התנינים.

IX. f. 106a-166b.

בה'.

ענין הקשר של מורי זלה"ה עם החברים והחברות בעצמם זה עם
זה . . . ד"ש כי אין לך נשמה שאין לה מלבוש וגו'.

X. f. 168a-186b.¹⁷

פירוש מאמר זה להרב המקובל האלהי מורינו חיים וויטל
זלה"ה.

אמר ר' לוי בשם ר' יוסי בן זמרא וגו'.

GEORGE F. MOORE.

¹⁴ f. 48b: An erasure has probably removed a name.

¹⁵ f. 50b: Colophon in ornamental hand חס ושלם וגו'.

¹⁶ Paper and script differ from any of the others.

¹⁷ In the same hand as IX.

THE SIMSON TRUST.

That the Jews have always abundantly cared for their own poor and unfortunate is attested by the remarkable history of the charitable workings of the community in different countries, especially in Western Europe and America. So far as the latter country is concerned it will be at once recalled that the first Jewish settlers in the United States received their patent and confirmation of residence upon the express condition that they always should care for the poor among them. Historians are prone to descant upon the exemplary fidelity with which the American community has ever lived up to this provision in the famous Grant of Privileges by the Chartered West India Company of Holland.

As if to bring out this tendency in Jews, properly to care for their needy fellows, a case at law, which appears to be the earliest of its kind in England, has recently fallen under my notice. As such it may stand as a landmark in the development of chancery jurisdiction. While it concerns Jews I do not find that it has been cited in Albert M. Hyamson's well-known work, "A History of the Jews in England,"¹⁸ or in the list of leading suits and trials which is an annual feature of *The Jewish Year Book* (of England). Moreover, Henry S. Q. Henriques, although he has written extensively on the relation of English Jews to the law of their land, does not consider the case (nor even mention it by name) in "The Jews and the English Law"¹⁹ or in "Jewish Marriages and the English Law."²⁰ The present note may, therefore, serve a useful purpose.

The case I refer to is that of *Isaac v. Defriez*, which was decided February 23, 1754. It is meagrely reported by Ambler,²¹ a chancery practitioner of the middle of the eighteenth century, and not much more thoroughly also in the seventeenth volume of Vesey's Reports.²²

Isaac v. Defriez involved the will, dated August 3, 1725, of Nathan Simson.²³ By this instrument the testator gave his sister

¹⁸ London, 1908.

¹⁹ Oxford, 1908.

²⁰ London, 1909.

²¹ At p. 595 of his volume.

²² At p. 373.

²³ See *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 25, p. 87, *et seq.*, where an illuminative note by Samuel Oppenheim will be found appended.

Grace Plont an annuity of £10 for her life with remainder over to his own and his present wife Dyfie's "poorest relations," to be distributed and paid to them proportionately, share and share alike, at the discretion of his executors. He also provided for a similar annuity, with the like remainder over, in the case of another sister, Rose Kizer.

Litigation having arisen over these bequests, it was needful for the court of equity to interpret and pass upon these provisions of the Nathan Simson will, the more especially since a doubt as to who constituted the "poorest relations" had crept in the minds of the executors. It was held that only the nephews and nieces of the testator were entitled to take the benefits of these reverting annuities, for they were the next of kin of the testator and his then wife Dyfie. In other words, they alone corresponded to the term "poorest relations" as employed by him in his testament.

Thus the case is authority for the proposition that a disposition in favor of the poor relations of a testator is to be ranked among charitable uses, or trusts, provided appropriate, technical words to this effect are employed by the draftsman of the testamentary instrument. Such a use or trust is in the nature of a public charity, and, for this reason, has been upheld by the courts of Great Britain and Ireland. In the State of New York a contrary rule prevails, the reason underlying it being that the beneficiaries of such a scheme are too indefinite and uncertain. Former Surrogate Robert Ludlow Fowler pointed this out, in no uncertain terms, in his decision in the estate of George H. Moller,²⁴ and expressed himself with his customary vigor and learning on the subject.

At all events, so far as Great Britain and Ireland are concerned, a trust of this nature is quite valid and effectual, and *Isaac v. Defriez* is, as has been said, the first of a long line of adjudicated cases upholding this point. Thus, our contention that this case may stand as a landmark in the development of English law seems to be borne out by the facts; incidentally, the case throws light, as has been observed, on the Jewish instinct (for such it is, indeed) of caring for the unfortunate members of one's own household.

Curiously enough, the trust of Nathan Simson for the benefit of his poorest relations still continues to operate or, at least, did so up to quite a recent period. From the advertising columns of

²⁴ *The New York Law Journal*, November 22, 1919.

The Jewish Chronicle for September 27, 1907 (p. 2) I excerpt the following:

Board of Guardians for the Relief of the Jewish Poor,
127, Middlesex Street, Bishopsgate, E.

Nathan Simson Trust.

Deserving Poor Young Jews of either sex, being kindred of Nathan Simson, or of Dyfie, his wife, who desire to participate in the ANNUAL DISTRIBUTION about to be made should send notice to the Secretary of the Board before October 11th next.

Applications will only be considered for the authorized objects, of which particulars can be seen at the above address.

By order,

M. Stephany,
Secretary.

Sept. 19th, 1907.

Presumably, the same advertisement was repeated in subsequent years.

How and for what reason this eighteenth-century testamentary trust came to be administered by the Jewish Board of Guardians, of London, an institution which dates only from 1859, I have been unable to ascertain. This point, however, is quite unimportant.

ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG.

MISCELLANEA.

In Catalogue No. 385 of Maggs Bros., booksellers, of 34 and 35 Conduit Street, New Bond Street, London, the following work is listed:

4923 *Legal. The Attorney and Solicitor General's, etc.*, Opinions concerning the Customs from the year 1673 to 1703. Copied from a MS. of Mr. T. White which was taken from the originals in the Custody of the Commissioners of the Customs.

18th Century Manuscript very legibly written with a complete index. Folio, calf. 18th Century.

The Opinions of the Attorney General and Solicitor General of England, are delivered in writing to the Government of the day, when opinions are asked for and are carefully preserved as confidential and most secret documents. No one except the highest Legal Officers of the Crown being allowed access to them. It is a curious thing that the opinions of the Highest Law Officers of the Crown, to no small extent, help to make the Law of England what it is, are kept as secret documents. The contents of the above manuscript are absolutely unknown and unpublished. One decision of the greatest importance for the history of the Status of the Jews born in America, may be instanced which has hitherto been unknown.

"Abraham Mendez, born of Jewish parents in His Majesty's Island of Barbadoes, trades as a merchant in the Port of London."

Question. "Whether the said Mendez is to be esteemed an Alien in point of Custom and other duties or one of his Majesty's English born subjects."

Answer. "I am of opinion that he is to be taken as one of His Majesty's naturall born subjects being born within the King's Dominions." Thomas Trevor.

"I am of opinion that a person born in his Majesty's Plantations in America is not an Alien nor chargeable to any Aliens' Duty but is as free as if he had been born in England." Jo. Hawkes, 20 May, 1699.

The following refers to the Nationality of the Children of Aliens born in England.

"Isaac de Costa Alvarenga and Samuel De Costa Alvarenga born in England of Jewish parents, Aliens and Traders in this Kingdom as Merchants."

Question. "Whether the said Isaac and Samuel are to be esteemed Aliens in point of Customs and other duties or as his Majesty's Natural born subjects."

Answer. "A person born in England of any parents in point of Religion or of any Nation, Jews or Mahometan, are to be esteemed Denizens or Natural born subjects as to the matter of Custom and as to all other privileges whatsoever." Jo. Hawkes, 20 May, 1699.

The 380 pages contain hundreds of decisions which are as vital and as interesting for the history of English Law as the extracts we have just given. Many are the references to Commerce and Shipping. Other references to the American Colonies are to be found under the headings:

Coals.	Jew.	Ship.	Spirits.	Trade.
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Catalogue No. 356 of Bernard Quaritch, Limited, 11 Grafton Street, New Bond Street, London, entitled "A Catalogue of Works Dealing with Geography, Voyages and Travels . . .," part i,²⁵ contains the following items²⁶ of interest:

YALE (Elihu). Holograph Receipt on paper signed in full, for the balance of account received from Daniel Chardin, on behalf of David Levi, with a small slip attached also in his autograph, certifying a further payment having been made by Mr. Chardin. 8vo. Aug. 8. 1692

This is an extremely interesting document, not only on account of the excessive rarity of Yale autographs, but also from the fact that it was written only about two months previous to his resignation as Governor of Madras.

Daniel Chardin, to whom the receipts were given was a free merchant of Madras, and brother of the celebrated traveller, Sir John Chardin.

²⁵ Dated January, 1921. A sight of it was obtained through the courtesy of Rabbi Henry Cohen.

²⁶ Nos. 750 and 751.

COPY.

Fort St. George. 8 Aug. 1692.

Received then of Mr. Daniell Chardin the sume of two hundred seventy pagodes thirty one fanams for accot of Senh¹ David Levi of Amsterdam, being the ball: of his accot delivered me by sd Mr. Chardin to be invested by me & Mr. Salvadore. I say Recd.

p me
Elihu Yale

Small attached slip.

These are to satisfye whome it may concerne that Mr. Chardin repaid the thousand pagodes taken at Respondentia of Capt. Brook, to the Armenian see that ye owner of the St Davids Stock is thereby cleer from yt obligation.

E Yale

————CHARDIN. A MOST EXTENSIVE AND INTERESTING COLLECTION OF ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE OF SIR JOHN CHARDIN, LADY CHARDIN, DANIEL CHARDIN, and many others, a number of which relate to ELIHU YALE, from Pondicherry, Fort St. George, etc., with several hundreds of original papers and documents relating to India, the East India Company, etc., from 1681 to 1719. 7 vols. folio, 5 vols. 4to., and 2 vols. 8 vo., bds.

1681-1719

CONTENTS.

CHARDIN CORRESPONDENCE to his brother Daniel, and other documents relating to Elihu Yale. . . .

8. 8 Bills of Shipments to the same 1686 & 1687, as follows:—

Four Bills for specie consigned by Sir John Chardin, Alvaro Du Costa, John Mendez da Costa, Francisco Salvador to ELIHU YALE, in the ship Williamson, Capt. Richard Warner, signed by the latter.

Two Bills for Specie consigned by John Mendez da Costa and Francis Salvador to ELIHU YALE, in the ship Defence, Capt. William Heath, signed by J. Foster.

One Bill for Corral Beads consigned by Petter and Pierre Henriques to ELIHU YALE, in the ship Defence as above. . . .

The correspondence includes several A.L.'s S. of Alvarez de Fonseca, Nicolo Manuchi, and other Indian notabilities of the late 17th and early 18th centuries; also several signatures of Thomas Pitt, Governor of Madras.

* * *

The following item²⁷ is taken from "Blake's Bulletin," No. 60,²⁸ a monthly list of books sold by W. W. Blake, Avenida 16 de Septiembre 13, Mexico City, and reads, as follows:

HEBREW.—Arte Hebraispano, Gramática de la Lengua Santa en Idioma Castellano, por R. P. F. Martín del Castillo, natural de Burgos, etc. 12mo. vellum. 12 prel. leaves and 336 pp. León de Francia, 1676.

Author was an Inquisitor and Guardian of the Monastery of San Francisco in Mexico City; and he apologizes for the typographical errors in this Hebrew Grammar, due to the great distance from the printer in

²⁷ No. 1222.

²⁸ March, 1918.

Lyons. In consequence, he has two pages of Errata printed and inserted in the book after its arrival here. This copy belonged to the Monastery of San Cosme in this city, and has its brand on top and bottom leaves, and also the wax seal of the Archbishopric as approval. Excessively rare.

* * *

Caroline R. Williams, in a paper on "The Place of the New York Historical Society in the Growth of American Interest in Egyptology,"²⁹ speaks³⁰ at some length of the collection of Egyptian antiquities formed by Colonel Mendes I. Cohen, of Baltimore, which she describes as the first collection of its kind brought to this country.

* * *

Scattered through the *Publications* are frequent references to Alfred Mordecai. To this material the following letter, supplied by Max J. Kohler from "Letters of Henry Brevoort to Washington Irving. Together with Other Unpublished Brevoort Papers,"³¹ may be added:

New York, Oct. 8th, 1833.

My dear Sir:—

I take the liberty to present to you Captain Alfred Mordecai, of our army—the number *one* of his year at West Point. His almiabie qualities, no less than his high professional distinction, induce me to ask you to receive him as one of [our] countrymen the most entitled to consideration.

Hoping that you will have had a happy meeting with your family,

I remain, with great esteem,

Yrs. very truly,

Winfield Scott.

Henry Brevoort, Esq^r.

Paris.

* * *

Prof. David S. Blondheim, of Johns Hopkins University, has written extensively on James Joseph Sylvester, whose attainments as mathematician were recognized by English and American seats of learning. He pays, of course, especial attention to Sylvester's career in this country, where in two distinct periods he was a member of the faculties of the University of Virginia and of Johns Hopkins University. It may be useful to append here a bibliographical note on Prof. Blondheim's papers on Sylvester; they include: 1) "James Joseph Sylvester," in *Jewish Comment*, vol. xxiii, p. 36 *et seq.*, (Baltimore, May 25, 1906). 2) "A Brilliant and Eccentric Mathematician," in *Johns Hopkins Alumni*

²⁹ *The New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin*, April, 1920.

³⁰ *I*p. 5, 6.

³¹ Edited, with an Introduction, by George S. Hellman, New York, 1916, vol. ii, p. 245.

Magazine, vol. ix, pp. 119-140 (January, 1921). 3) "Sylvester at the University of Virginia," in *ibid.*, April, 1921.³²

* * *

History bulletins 10 and 11 of the University of the State of New York, New York State Library, "Early Records of the City and County of Albany and Colony of Rensselaerswyck," contain notarial papers dating 1660 to 1696, mortgages of 1658-1660, and wills from 1681 to 1765. The volumes give a few references to the commercial affairs of Asser Levy, but add nothing to our knowledge of his career.

* * *

MS. letters of Priestley, the famous British scientist, are not frequently found; this one, here given through the courtesy of Walter R. Benjamin, the dealer in books and autographs, of New York, has an American Jewish historical interest. It reads as follows:

Dear Sir

I have at length completed the work on the success of which you were pleased to interest yourself. The copies will be sold by Mr Campbell, and your kind services in the disposal of them among your countrymen and friends will be thankfully received. I hope the work will be of some service to the cause of revelation which we both have at heart. Your religion has, thro ignorance and prejudice, been most grossly misrepresented, and abused, but I hope that the evidence I have produced of its infinite superiority to all other religions of equal antiquity, will be its abundant vindication, and a proof of its divine origin.

With the greatest veneration for your nation, and goodwill to yourself, I am Dear Sir,—

Yours sincerely

Joseph Priestley.

Northumberland [, Penna.,] Jan'y 9 1800.

To Simon Levi, Esq. 58 N 4th Street Philadelphia.

A. M. F.

THREE EARLY LETTERS, 1769-1782.

Two of the letters that follow were found by the writer among a group of twenty-eight MS. letters, all addressed to Moses M. Hays.

³² See, also, Philip Alexander Bruce, "History of the University of Virginia," New York, 1921, vol. iii, pp. 73-77. Dr. Bruce shows that Sylvester left the University of Virginia as the result of a difficulty with one of his students about a matter of discipline, and not on account of his views on slavery. Prof. Blondheim, with a pride that is pardonable in a biographer of the same faith as the eminent mathematical scholar, regards Sylvester as perhaps the most distinguished mind in academic circles in the United States.

This correspondence is in the cabinet of the Virginia Historical Society, at Richmond, Virginia. Nearly all the letters relate to ordinary business affairs, and have no Jewish value. The two letters printed below are selected for their special Jewish historical interest.

Jonas Phillips, the signer of the first letter, who describes himself as the father of "a poor but honest family" became one of the prominent Jews of the Revolutionary era. He was among the first to side with America against Great Britain and joined the Revolutionary forces after having fled from the British at New York, to Philadelphia. He laid the cornerstone of the Mikve Israel Synagogue in the latter city and he was the second president of that congregation.³³

The writer of the last letter, Robert Morris, was superintendent of finance and agent of marine during the Revolution.³⁴ His reply to Hays shows that the latter had offered to come to the assistance of the struggling colonies with a contribution of money or that he had proposed a financial plan for their benefit. Such an act was thoroughly in accord with the generous, patriotic character of Moses M. Hays; and, on the other hand, it was no novelty for the secretary of a particularly lean treasury to receive help from a Jew. Among other Hebrews who loaned money to Morris were Isaac Moses,³⁵ Israel Israels,³⁶ and the inevitable Haym Salomon.³⁷

The correspondence between Moses Franks and Sir Grey Cooper³⁸ was found among the Bancroft MSS. in the New York Public Library.³⁹ The occurrence to which the letter relates is described in one of the first papers published by the American Jewish Historical Society.⁴⁰ David Franks, on whose behalf the letter was written, was released from imprisonment before Sir Henry Clinton⁴¹ had the chance to effect an exchange.

New York Sep^r. 14th 1769

Dear Sir

I hope that this will find you in your desired post and in health I have got from Mr. Pagan a sett of bills Indorsed by John Harris Oraked which

³³ *Publications, supra*, No. 1, pp. 15, 16; No. 2, pp. 55-57.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 23, pp. 172, 173.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 11, p. 83.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 1, p. 53.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 2, p. 9.

³⁸ Sir Grey Cooper was the Secretary of the Treasury in England from 1765 to 1782.

³⁹ Bancroft MSS., America, p. 309.

⁴⁰ *Publications, supra*, No. 1, p. 71.

⁴¹ Sir H. Clinton was commander-in-chief of the British Army in America in 1778.

I have sent p^r. packit, as you have shewen your self to me an disinterested friend hope and Beg for your fay^r. of a few lines from you to Mr. Milligan so as he may ship me my small order Transmitted to him which you have seen. You may Rist assured that I shall make it my study that you shall gain thanks by Recommending me and hope that I shall allways deserve your further friendship, and shall forever acknowledge and in gratitude bound to pray for your and familys health and prosperity In your business.

M^{rs}. Phillips Joines with me in our unfigned acknowledgement and we pray that the almighty May Reward your children for your Intended Goodness to a poor, but honest family, and may you Return sufit and in health to your dear good family which is the sincere wishes of Dear Sir

Your Most obe^d Sev^t.

Jonas Phillips

P. S. if you shoud^d. stay any time at Newport I shoud^d. be glad if you could send my new Recommendation p^r. first post or oppurtunity so as I may sen^d it by a Vessel which sails to bristol soon if agreeable to you

Excuse my freedom.

[To Moses M. Hays, Newport, Rhode Island.]

* * *

Dec. 22, 1778.

Dear Sir,

May I implore your kind interposition with Lord North in behalf of my unfortunate brother Mr David Franks of Philadelphia, whom the tyranny of the Congress has caused to be arrested & thrown into jail in that city. The charge against him is, his having endeavored to convey a letter to me the sentiments of which they have resolved to be inimical to the United States. I know his Lordship's humanity and yours will be always extended to objects really meriting it—my brother is such & therefore let me intercede that an instruction may be given to Sir H. Clinton to exchange him—tho God knows whether he will be alive when such an act of benevolence and mercy shall reach him. I write too much agitated to say more than I am faithfully and devotedly, etc.

Moses Franks.

[To Sir Grey Cooper, Bart.]

* * *

Office of Finance, June 10th 1782

Sir

I received your Favor dated at Boston the 6th of this instant and in Reply can only say that the present Situation of the public Business does not require the Assistance you have so kindly offered. If I should find it necessary to adopt the Measure you propose or any similar one my views thereon will be fully communicated to M^r. Lovell. In the Interim I am with Respect

Sir

Your most obedient

and

Humble Servant

Rob^t. Morris

To M. M. Hays
Boston

HAROLD KORN.

THREE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY ITEMS.

If Isaac Jacob, a Jew, who left Ireland two years ago and landed first in Philadelphia, will apply to the subscribers, he will hear something to his advantage. Any person giving information where Mr. Jacob is, so that a letter might be conveyed to him will confer a favour on

Templeton and Stewart

(Auctioneers)⁴²

* * *

Through the courtesy of Mr. V. H. Paltsits, Keeper of Manuscripts in the New York Public Library, my attention was called to a book⁴³ containing a reduced facsimile of a contract between William Stiegel and Lazarus Isaacs, dated 1773, for the employment of the latter as a cutter and flowerer of Stiegel glass, an ornamental colored product used in various forms and designs of flint glassware and for decorative purposes, fully described, with illustrations, in the book referred to. Isaacs' work required a high degree of artistic skill, especially in the flowering part. His contract was for one year and does not seem to have been renewed. Wherefore, is not stated, nor what became of him. In the contract he is called a glass cutter of Philadelphia. His employment was for Lancaster County.

His name was signed in Hebrew *Lezar bar Yitzchak Segal*, meaning Lazarus the son of Isaac the Levite, which became Anglicized in the contract and was written by the scrivener in the English part of the signature as Lazarus Isaacs his mark. There were two witnesses. The name of one, Jacob Frank, is plainly written and cannot have been intended for any member of the well known Franks family of Philadelphia. The contract is in his handwriting.⁴⁴

Stiegel had a factory for the making of his product at Elizabeth Town, Lancaster County, Pa., known as the Elizabeth Furnace, and also at Manheim in the same county, both not far from Lancaster. The account books and other records of the Stiegel works, dating from the middle of the eighteenth century, are preserved in the rooms of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and from them the author prepared most of his story. The accounts show that Mayer Josephson was a purchaser of Stiegel glass in 1765, and also that in that year he was the distributor for the Elizabeth Furnace Agency at Reading, Pa., in the sale of the glass. No other names of Jews appear in the extensive records. An entry

⁴² *The New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, 1772, July 13-27.

⁴³ Frederick William Hunter, "Stiegel Glass," Boston and New York, 1914, pp. 45, 73, 200, 201, 240.

⁴⁴ References to him as a silversmith of Philadelphia and otherwise appear in *Publications*, *supra*, No. 1, pp. 51, 59, 60, 151.

under date of February, 1774, shows a payment of £33 to Isaacs for six months' wages at £5.10 and a charge of £2.10 for one-quarter pumice; also a charge of £3. for two lottery tickets and £1.10 for a team for hauling his goods.

The following is a copy of the contract as printed in the book, corrected after comparison with the facsimile, the signature being given in Hebrew transliteration instead of as in the printed copy.

An enlarged photostat of the reduced facsimile of the contract has been filed with the American Jewish Historical Society.

Memorandum of an Agreement made this 4th Day of June 1773, between Henry William Stiegel Owner of the American Flint Glass Manufactory of the one Side, and Lazarus Isaacs Glass Cutter of Philadelphia of the other Side Witnesseth, that the Said H Will^m Stiegel agrees to employ the Said Lazarus Isaacs, at his Glass house in Lancaster County, as a Cutter and flowerer. And in each Branch of that Business, he the Said Lazarus Isaacs promises, to do all in his Power and Capacity, to Serve the said H W^m Stiegel for the Term of one Year from the date hereof According to the orders and Directions, he Shall from Time to Time Receive, from him the Said H W. Stiegel at the Premises, or from his Deputy. And fourther to Contribute every Thing in his Power for the Interest of the Work he is employed in. In Consideration of all which well and Truly done and performed, the Said H. W. Stiegel Promises and Covenants hereby to pay the Said Lazarus Isaacs the Sum of Five Pounds Ten Shillings monthly, and every month, during the Said Year. And fourther to find him a House to live in and also a Piece of Land for a Garden. As to fire Wood he is to be Suplied like the other Workmen, at five Shilling per Cord, hauld to his Door. For the Rest of the Materials belonging to the Work, Said H. W. Stiegel is to find them exept his own Tools and utensils belonging to his Work.

For the true performens of all Promises and Covenants the parties Bind themselves to each other in the pinnel Sum of One Thousand Pounds Lawfull Money of Pensylvania, to be paid by the Party making Default.

In Witness whereof they have hereunto Set their Hand and Seal Sealed and delivered in the presence of us.

Rudolph Brunner
Jacob Frank

Henry W^m Stiegel (L. S.)
his
Lazarus *Lezar bar Yitzchak segal*⁴⁵ Isaacs
Mark

* * *

London, March 27. On Wednesday last the committee of six aldermen (Sir Gilbert Heathcote in the Chair in the absence of Sir John Eyles) and twelve Commoners unanimously resolved that no Jews should be admitted as Brokers. Sir William Billers hearing that a Report was spread of his being for admitting the Jews as Brokers came to the said Committee and declared he was entirely against it and that Christians were the fittest for that Employment.⁴⁶

SAMUEL OPPENHEIM.

⁴⁵ In Hebrew letters.

⁴⁶ *The New York Gazette*, 1731, May 31-June 7, No. 293.

NECROLOGY.

LOUIS I. AARON.

Louis I. Aaron, one of the leading public-spirited Jews of the city of Pittsburgh, died on December 31, 1919, in that city, where he had resided for fifty-nine years.

He was born October 18, 1840, in Moschin, Province Posen, Prussia, Germany.

He came to the United States in August, 1857, found employment in New York, then in Atlanta, Georgia, and came to Pittsburgh in 1861. He was associated with A. Lippman & Company, conducting a retail dry goods business on Market Street. This firm wound up its business in 1880.

He was married October 21, 1866, to Mina Lippman, who died September 24, 1913. Five children were born to them, three of whom died in infancy. He is survived by two sons, Marcus and Charles I. Aaron.

Mr. Aaron entered the grain and malting business in Pittsburgh and Chicago and continued in the same until 1897, when the business was taken over by the American Malting Company. He was interested in the Homer Laughlin China Company, serving as its president from 1897 to 1910, continuing as an active director until the time of his death. He and his associates established the town of Newell, West Virginia, which is one of the important pottery centers of the country. He was a director of the Pennsylvania Insurance Company. He was one of the organizers of the Hebrew Benevolent Society, of Pittsburgh, and was its secretary for many years. He was largely responsible for and one of the organizers, as well as the secretary, of the United Hebrew Relief Association. He was a director of the Federation of

Jewish Philanthropies. From its very organization and for many years, he was a director and active in the management of Gusky Orphanage and Home. He was a trustee of the Rodef Shalom Congregation. He was a director of the Jewish Free Loan Society. He was instrumental in the organization, financing and management of the Hebrew Institute of Pittsburgh, which without his enthusiastic support and large money contributions would not have come into existence.

Devoted to Judaism, his able, energetic and intelligent support was given to substantially every Jewish activity in the city of Pittsburgh. He was a man of unimpeachable integrity, independent judgment and thoughtful intelligence, and while considerate and respectful of the views of others he did not hesitate to enthusiastically support his own convictions.

In the minutes of the United States Potters' Association, of which Mr. Aaron was a member, upon his death the following tribute from his business associates appears:

But it was on the personal side that Mr. Aaron was most admirable. Always unassuming, he made friends with all with whom he came in contact. He was a cordial, sincere friend, because he was genuine himself, full of love of humanity. Towards his business associates he was more like a father than an employer. In his personal relations he permitted his heart to dictate. No one can have any idea of his private charities. He will have a lasting place in the memory of literally hundreds to whom he lent a helping hand. He was of a deeply religious nature—expressing his religion in every act of his daily life.

A. LEO WEIL.

GEORGE LOUIS BEER.

The modesty and reticence which were characteristic of George Louis Beer led the importance of his achievements to be far less known in his own circle of personal friends than to scholars and publicists of both Europe and America. It was not until after Mr. Beer's death, and after the proceedings of the Peace Conference at Paris had been published, that many

of his acquaintances, who had known him, of course, as a serious student and a writer of history, and as one of the most delightful of companions, began to realize how significant had been his life work. It then became apparent that Mr. Beer had been regarded as President Wilson and Colonel House as one of the most valuable members of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. In the opinion of English, French and American delegates to the Conference, Mr. Beer was looked upon, after the plenipotentiaries themselves, as the most influential member of the American Commission. There were seven international committees in which he represented the United States, in various instances as the chairman, and again as the sole representative of our country. These committees included those on Morocco; the German Colonies; Mandates; the Examination of the Observations of German Delegates; the Berlin Acts of 1885; the Brussels Acts of 1890; and the Regulation of the Liquor Traffic in Africa. In addition to his special activities on these committees, Mr. Beer was called upon for information and suggestions in discussing the preliminaries to the deliberations of the Peace Conference itself, and the exactitude of his scholarship, together with the charm of his courtesy, was of service in situations at times difficult and delicate. So highly regarded was he by his confrères that he was designated as head of the Mandate Section in the League of Nations, in the eventuality of America's signing the Treaty. During his last illness he was informed that the position would be left vacant until he might be well enough to assume it. His death evoked, especially in the English and Canadian press, but also in that of France and other countries, rare tributes, with especial stress on the loss to international affairs in the passing away of an American so remarkably qualified by temperament, knowledge and ideals to take an important part in international councils.

Mr. Beer was born on Staten Island, New York, in 1872, the son of Julius and Sophia Beer. Twenty years later he

graduated from Columbia University, receiving the degree of A. M. in the following year. While the next ten years were given over in part to his father's business, the importing of tobacco, during the first five of these years Mr. Beer was also a lecturer on European history at Columbia. In 1896 he married Edith C. Hellman, of New York. In 1893 he began his considerable number of volumes devoted mainly to British administrative and economic subjects, these including, "The Commercial Policy of England towards the American Colonies"; "Cromwell's Policy in Its Economic Aspects"; "British Colonial Policy"; "Origins of the British Colonial System"; and "The Old Colonial System." These books established Mr. Beer's reputation among scholars as the foremost authority in their field, and the last four were, in 1913, awarded by Columbia University the first Loubat Prize, as the best work in the English language on any subject of history, geography or archæology relating to America, published during the preceding five years. But probably Mr. Beer's most significant work was "The English-Speaking Peoples," issued in 1917. Here the author presented in a broad spirit, and with a wealth of general knowledge, the reasons why coöperation among the English-speaking peoples would best safeguard the world's peace and advance the cause of civilization. Naturally this book had an immediate and wide audience, and was also carefully studied by the statesmen of many countries. Widely read also were Mr. Beer's magazine essays and newspaper articles, especially those published in *The Round Table*, during the course of the War. Shortly before his death, which took place on March 15, 1920, Mr. Beer was decorated by the King of the Belgians, in recognition of his services as chief of the colonial division of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. Although he doubtless appreciated the honor, decoration and public praise never meant much to this modest gentleman. He was so devoted to his work that while he was a member of numerous historical

and political science academies and associations, he found little time for club life, the Authors and the Columbia University Club being among the few to which he belonged in New York, and the Authors Club and the Royal Society in London. Long lasting trouble with his leg interfered during later years with his out-door life, though he had been a good athlete and an excellent golfer in earlier years. He was interested in many phases of human activities and ever a reader of great literature. Many communal and charitable activities enlisted his sympathies and his coöperation; he was one of the directors of the Jewish Protectory and Aid Society, the president of which institution, upon the demise of Mr. Beer, stated that his warm-hearted, intelligent counsel was always of the greatest value and his death an irreparable loss. While his mind was preëminently that of the scholar, he was so human a man, so attractive in his appearance and in his ways, that his friends among both men and women were legion. Children were fond of him, and great statesmen listened with attention to his words.

MARCUS BRANN.

Death has taken a heavy toll during the last few years among the small band of Jewish scholars of the older generation. We have to register one great loss after the other, and unfortunately there are only few younger men ready to devote their lives to the indispensable but thankless task of Jewish scholarship. We thus miss doubly those that pass away without leaving their equals to continue their work.

In Professor Marcus Brann we have lost one of those older scholars with an unusually wide range of knowledge and information based on a combination of the older and the modern method of education which gave him the indispensable background of a thorough Hebrew and Talmudic training together with the access to modern methods and attainments. He was

a trained historian of painstaking exactness. He did not have the genius of Graetz whose chair he filled in the Breslau Seminary for nearly three decades, but he was also free of the subjectivity and onesidedness of his great teacher.

The events of his life are easily told. Born in Rawicz on July 9, 1849, he studied at the Breslau Seminary and University. After his graduation in 1875, he held various positions as rabbi and head of an orphan asylum until he was appointed as Graetz's and Zuckermann's successor in 1891. On his seventieth birthday he received the title of professor. He passed away September 26, 1920.

In the Seminary he taught Bible, Jewish history, Shulhan Arukh, and, at different times, also Talmud, Hebrew grammar, Jewish calendar, topography of Palestine and pedagogics, and was besides in charge of the library. In 1892 he revived the *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* which had been founded by his revered teacher, Frankel, the first president of the Breslau Seminary and continued by Graetz until 1887. First up to 1899 in collaboration with his friend, David Kaufmann, and after the latter's death alone, Brann edited this oldest scientific Jewish periodical very successfully and carried it on to his last hour even through the agonizing years of the World War. For twelve years he edited the *Jahrbuch zur Belehrung und Unterhaltung* (1889-1900) in which many of his papers of a more popular character have appeared.

His literary activity which extended over half a century does not give us a full picture of his manysidedness, since it is almost exclusively devoted to history and bibliography. Post-biblical history was undoubtedly his favorite subject. His first publications were devoted to the family of Herod and his researches in this period and its sources enabled him to revise the early volumes of Graetz's work after the master's death. His careful study on the Megillat Taanit shows his familiarity with the critical problems of Talmudic literature.

Since his student days he also was interested in the history of the Jews of Silesia and especially of Breslau. He has contributed much new information in this field but his *Geschichte der Juden in Schlesien* which appeared in five reports of the Seminary, only carries us down to the end of the sixteenth century, and covers but one of the three parts he had planned it to consist of. His clear and exhaustive treatment of the subject can serve as a model for the writing of local histories.

Such work can only be successful when carried on in constant relation to the larger units of which the locality or province forms a part and it is therefore natural that Brann was not only fully conversant with the history of the Jews of Germany but also wrote important contributions in this field. Here it suffices to refer to his articles "Europe" and "Germany" in "The Jewish Encyclopedia," and to the *Germania Judaica* which he was to edit together with Professor Freimann and of which the first half-volume appeared in 1917, including numerous contributions of his. The end of the volume he left ready for publication.

His popular *Geschichte der Juden und ihrer Literatur*, in two volumes, has passed through three editions and has contributed much to the spreading of the knowledge of Judaism among the German youth. It is recognized as the best and most readable book in any language combining as it does reliable information with interesting presentation in a well-balanced selection of the essential. Two lectures of his giving a bird's eye view of Jewish history and literature respectively, were reprinted in small size and distributed among the soldiers during the war.

Professor Brann was deeply interested in the history of the Jews in modern times. He revised the last two volumes of Graetz and wrote several interesting papers on that period. He was much attracted by the personalities who had contributed to the great progress of Jewish science. Among these it was especially Zacharias Frankel to whose biography

he never tired of adding new materials. His last publication consisted of extracts from Graetz's autobiographical notes. He gave us collections of letters of Riesser, Munk, Zunz and Kaufmann and we owe him the selection and edition of the three volumes of the collected writings of his intimate friend, Professor David Kaufmann, in whose memory he published a splendid collection of scientific essays together with F. Rosenthal (1900) as he did with a similar collection for Israel Lewy's seventieth birthday together with I. Elbogen (1911). On the occasion of the completion of half a century of the Breslau Seminary, Brann wrote a most elaborate and interesting history of this institution, its teachers and its pupils, which contains a mine of information on the progress of Jewish learning in the second half of the last century.

Brann was an authority on the Jewish scholars of earlier times as well, and his papers on the *Landrabbinat* in Silesia or the rabbis of Schneidemühl as well as some collections of tombstone inscriptions and contributions to the history of learned families give some idea of the unusual extent of his knowledge in this line.

I cannot attempt in these few lines a full account of Brann's literary activity. For his seventieth birthday Freimann compiled a bibliography of his books and papers containing 180 items. Some of them, we may say, deal with *minutiae* but while nothing was too small to attract his attention, no error too insignificant not to deserve his correction, he never lost sight of the right proportion and knew well how to differentiate between the essential and the unimportant.

There is only one more of his papers which cannot be passed over in our circle since it is of considerable interest for the special subject to which our Society is devoted. His contribution to the Guttman *Festschrift*, *Etwas von der schlesischen Landgemeinde*, contains curious information about some of the best known early Jews of Philadelphia, the Gratzes and the Blochs and their poor relations in Langen-

dorf. Brann received some note about them from Judge Sulzberger and expressed the hope that the letters from which they were gathered and which are now the property of our Society, should soon be published. Brann was a corresponding member of our Society since 1902.

While he was extremely exact in his researches and very particular about his dates and facts as we can see clearly from some of the reviews he wrote, he was very far from being a dry-as-dust scholar who only lived in his notes and materials as one might be inclined to conclude from some of the preceding remarks. On the contrary his interest was always alive to the problems of the day. He took a very active part in the life of the community and was a prominent member of many societies, both social and scientific. He was beloved by the people with whom he came in contact and his advice was gladly listened to. He was a most pleasant companion, full of life and replete with information on any subject of a scientific or secular character, or of a personal nature. He could tell numberless good stories and yarns and was the personification of *Gemütlichkeit*. He was always ready and glad to help anybody and his loss will be keenly felt not only by his immediate circle, but also by the large number of Jewish scholars who were fortunate enough to enjoy his friendship.

ALEXANDER MARX.

ALONZO HOWARD CLARK.

Alonzo Howard Clark, editor of the Smithsonian Institution, and who was long curator of the division of history of the National Museum, died at Washington, D. C., December 31, 1918.

Born in Boston, April 13, 1850, after engaging in private business he entered Government service in 1879 in charge of the United States Fish Commission Station at Gloucester, Mass., and special agent of the Tenth Census. By taste and

associations an historian and patriot, he found congenial work as curator in history and editor at the Smithsonian Institution in 1881, and continued in the service of the Institution thirty-seven years. He served as Assistant United States Commissioner to the International Exposition in London of 1883, expert commissioner and member of the jury of awards at the Paris Exposition of 1899, delegate to the International Geographic Congress at Paris of 1889, and was decorated by the President of France. As an officer of the patriotic societies of Sons of the American Revolution, Mayflower Descendants, Society of Colonial Wars, and for many years Secretary of the American Historical Association, he filled a large place among those quiet influences which make for good citizenship, patriotism, and the stability of American institutions.

EMANUEL COHEN.

Emanuel Cohen was born May 11, 1855, at Carbondale, Pennsylvania. He entered Williams College in 1870, but after two years decided to postpone his graduation because of his youth. He returned to college in 1874 and graduated in the class of '76, in which the late Charles Gross, of Harvard, was also enrolled, with a very high standing in scholarship.

After his graduation, he entered the law office of F. Carroll Brewster at Philadelphia. Mr. Cohen was admitted to practice by the Orphans' Court, on Mr. Brewster's motion, on November 9, 1878. He soon after opened an office in Scranton, but in a short time returned to Philadelphia, where he practiced until 1886. He was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and in the United States Courts of the Eastern District.

Whilst in Philadelphia he became a member of the Young Men's Hebrew Association and soon formed important friendships, both social and professional. He attained prominence

by winning a prize essay offered by the association, the subject being "Principles of Sociology."

Visiting the West, he was attracted by the possibilities of newer fields of endeavor and in August, 1886, he went to Minneapolis, Minnesota, and became associated with Stanley R. Kitchel and Frank W. Shaw in the practice of law under the firm name of Kitchel, Cohen & Shaw. He was admitted to practice in all the courts of Minnesota, and in the Supreme Court of the United States. After the death of Mr. Kitchel in December, 1900, John B. Atwater, a lawyer of distinction, became a member of the firm, which was thereafter known as Cohen, Atwater & Shaw.

He was ardently interested in public affairs, but always declined to run for office. He was appointed a member of the charter commission of 1898, the purpose of which was to propose a charter for the city of Minneapolis. Mr. Cohen took a leading part in framing the proposed charter, and actively canvassed for its adoption by the voters. It received a majority of all the votes cast for the charter, but not a majority of all the votes cast at the election, and so failed of adoption. In the latter part of the year 1919 he was again appointed on the charter commission, and it was while presiding that he was suddenly stricken with apoplexy and died on April 9, 1920.

He was a man of scholarly attainments and a student both of law and literature, and was gifted with a splendid power of expression both in writing and speaking. His ambition was to scrupulously protect his clients' interests in every case. He was a tireless student, and never rendered an opinion or drew an important contract until he had given much thought and study to the questions involved.

Although not a man of large means, he will be remembered in the city of his adoption for his interest in philanthropic work of various kinds, and especially in that which applied to the Jewish people.

In December, 1886, Mr. Cohen married Miss Nina Morais, the daughter of Rev. Dr. Sabato Morais, minister of the Portuguese Congregation, Mikve Israel, of Philadelphia.

Mrs. Cohen, who pre-deceased her husband, was a woman of great natural gifts, supported by a high degree of cultivation so that she added in large measure to the success of their literary and social career.

CHARLES J. COHEN.

EVA COONS.

Mrs. Coons was born in the City of Philadelphia on March 28, 1859. She was the daughter of Abram Kahn, a prominent merchant of Philadelphia and Louisville, Ky., and of Rebecca Ezekiel, of an old English family, who was noted for her many virtues and who was closely identified with the communal interests of her day. Mrs. Coons was educated in private schools and was graduated from Bonney and Dillaye's Institute on Chestnut Street near Sixteenth.

Her keen sympathy for her people early led her to take an active interest in their welfare. Perhaps her chief concern was centered in the Jewish child and its environment and she associated herself with a number of institutions connected directly or indirectly with Jewish education. She became an active member of the board of directors of the Hebrew Educational Society, the Hebrew Sunday School Society, the Philadelphia branch of the Jewish Theological Seminary, the Pennsylvania Society to Protect Children from Cruelty, and was the president of the woman's board of the Jewish Foster Home. It was in this last named organization that her energies were occupied for many years, and to it she gave her time, her pecuniary assistance and her most earnest endeavors. Every child in the Home loved her and she cared for each individual with all her heart. It was her pleasure to give a dinner to these children annually on Thanksgiving Day, a

custom which she established thirty-two years ago and never omitted.

In her early womanhood Mrs. Coons did pioneer work with the Russian-Jewish settlement. She was a member of the Mikve Israel Congregation and secretary of the Beth-El Emeth Cemetery Association; she afterwards joined the Rodeph Shalom Congregation. She was married to Jacob Wolf of Louisville, who died a year after their marriage, and she afterwards became the wife of Isidor Coons, a well-known merchant of Philadelphia. After an illness of two years, Mrs. Coons died on October 17, 1918, at Atlantic City, N. J. She is survived by a daughter, Mrs. Jacob L. Krauss, and a son, Henry R. Coons.

CLARENCE I. DE SOLA.

Clarence I. De Sola was a son of the late Rev. Dr. Abraham De Sola, formerly Minister of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of Montreal, Canada, and his wife, Esther Joseph, and was born in that city on August 15, 1859. His ancestors were among the most eminent in Jewish annals, residing in Spain for many centuries, and producing a long line of distinguished statesmen and scholars. They subsequently settled in Holland and England, and finally in Canada. He received his education at the Montreal High School and McGill University, and enjoyed also a liberal education in the Hebrew language and Jewish literature from his learned father. After leaving college, he engaged in business, and subsequently became interested in extensive enterprises involving shipbuilding, bridge construction and hydraulic lift locks. He was the Canadian representative of large English companies, and built many ships for the Canadian upper lakes and ocean trade, introducing the first two oil fuel combination engine ships that ever crossed the Atlantic, the *Toiler* and the *Calgary*. He was managing director of the *Comptoir Belgo-Canadien*,

and constructed many public works in Canada, such as the Locks, Soulanges and Trent Canals, thus introducing into Canada the hydraulic lift locks. He had a considerable part also in respect to the retracking of part of the Intercolonial Railway and the Prince Edward Island Railway Company, and established a steamship service between Antwerp and Montreal. He was president of the Ocean & Inland Transportation Company; director of the Farras Transportation Company, of the Donald Steamship Lines, Canadian Marine & Commercial Company, president of the Ocean Steamship Company of Canada, and managing director of the Wolford Forwarding Company, and several other lines. Mr. De Sola's distinguished services in extending relations between Belgium and Canada resulted in his receiving the appointment in 1904 as Belgian Consul at Montreal, which position he occupied until his decease. His labors in that office were recognized by Belgium in 1919 when he was created a Chevalier of the Order of Leopold, the highest order of Belgian knighthood, receiving at the same time a letter from King Albert of Belgium specially recognizing his valuable services during the World War, which consisted largely in organizing and sending overseas large numbers of Belgian reservists; and also as vice-president of the Belgian Relief. On August 15, 1914, only eleven days after the declaration of war, a large body of Belgian soldiers embarked at Montreal on the steamship *Ionian*. These were the first troops that left American shores for the great war.

Mr. De Sola was as active in the councils of his religious denomination as in public affairs. For above two decades he was the leader of Canadian Zionists; an ardent champion of the Hebrew homeland in Palestine in its early days when it had not yet passed the realm of ridicule. He at least enjoyed the satisfaction of observing some of the results of the labors in which he took so large a part, and was happy in the thought that his relations with Right Hon. Arthur J. Balfour, the

British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, had exerted an influence in the promulgation of the famous Palestine Declaration. In the synagogue of his congregation, that of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews of Montreal, he was for many years the central figure, not only as president of the congregation, but also as influential in all that made it so highly respected everywhere. It was he who directed the building of the holy place of worship of the congregation where the funeral services were held over his mortal remains, on the casket enclosing which rested the Order of Leopold, and his consular sword and hat. He was closely identified with the charitable, religious and educational activities of the Jews of Canada, and was himself always an Israelite of the strictest sect, closely observing and always strongly advocating traditional Judaism. He was for many years an honorary officer of the Montreal branch of the Anglo-Jewish Association, a member of the legislative committee of the Baron de Hirsch Institute, and was also president of the First General Conference of Canadian Jews, held in 1915. He did not confine his labors of love and kindness to his own people, but gave freely of himself without regard to race or creed, being for many years a director of the Victorian Order of Nurses, governor of the Montreal General Hospital, and similar institutions. He carried his religious faith into every action of his business and official careers, and was always proud to demonstrate to the world that his devotion to the Jewish religion entirely harmonized with his passion for country and state. This naturally brought him the respect of his Christian neighbors, and they were always proud to be admitted to the forum of his friendship. Mr. De Sola was married on October 26, 1901, to Belle Maud Goldsmith, daughter of Leopold Goldsmith, of Cleveland, Ohio, and had four children. He passed to his reward on Monday evening, May 10, 1920, while on a visit to Boston, Mass., after a short illness, and his remains were interred in the cemetery in Mount Royal, Montreal, of the

Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue. His obsequies were attended by all the representatives of foreign governments in Montreal. It may well be said of him that he lived and labored to show the glory of the God of Israel to the nations of earth.

N. TAYLOR PHILLIPS.

FRANCISCO FERNÁNDEZ Y GONZÁLEZ.

Francisco Fernández y González died in Madrid, Spain, June 30, 1917. He was born in Albacete, September 26, 1833. He became a professor in the *Universidad Central*; a member of the Royal Academies of History, of Language and Fine Arts. During 1852-53 he was professor of rhetoric and poetry in the Institute of the Novitiate.

A philologist and eminent orientalist, his studies on the history, the literature and the institutions of the Mohammedans and Jews, which have brought about a deep change of ideas regarding a very important period of Spanish life, have been great and valuable. He was the author of the translation of the *Histories of Al-Andalus, by Aben Adhari de Marruecos*; the supplement to the *Arabic-Spanish Library of Casiri* (*Biblioteca Árábigo-hispana de Casiri*); the *Legal Institutions of the Jews in the Various States of the Iberian Peninsula* (*Instituciones jurídicas del pueblo de Israel en los diferentes Estados de la Península ibérica*); and the translation and notes on the *Edicts of the Spanish Jews* (*Ordenamiento de las aljamas judías*).

FIDEL FITA Y COLOMER.

Fidel Fita y Colomer was for many years a corresponding member of the American Jewish Historical Society; on his eightieth birthday in commemoration of his many contributions to the history of the Jews in Spain, he was elected an honorary member.

He was born in Arenys de Mar on December 31, 1831 and died in Madrid on January 13, 1819. His father, Don Felix Fidel Fita, was a rich lace merchant. His mother, Dona Antonia Colomé as it is pronounced in Catalan, or Colomer as it is pronounced in Castilian, was a woman of great intelligence, deep piety and splendid traits. Those who knew her said that the exceptional gifts of genius and character which the son possessed were but the reflection of those which characterized the noble woman who bore him.

He received the beginnings of his education, mental, moral and physical in his native town. At the age of ten he was sent to Barcelona to pursue his studies there in the Conciliar Seminary. Here he learnt Latin, the first rudiments of Christian philosophy, grammar, rhetoric, mathematics and living languages.

He had determined to enter the Jesuit Order and commenced his novitiate in France in 1850. He was especially interested in languages and by the time he returned to Spain, in 1853, he had mastered Latin, speaking and writing it as his own tongue, Greek and Hebrew, and could write with equal ease in German and in English. In 1853 he came to the Jesuit headquarters in Spain and was appointed professor of rhetoric and Hebrew by his superiors.

Driven into exile by the revolution of 1854, he went to France where he remained until 1856. In that year a counter-revolution enabled the religious refugees to return to Spain.

About 1870 the Jesuit Fathers established a house of study in the unused Monastery of St. Martirian of Bañolas, and Fidel Fita was made professor of ecclesiastical history. He made frequent trips to Gerona to prosecute his researches into the Roman, Visigothic and Hebrew inscriptions so abundant in that region, and to continue his investigation of the archives there, ecclesiastical as well as civil. In Bañolas, on November 13, 1870, he began the series of letters to Don Enrique Girbal on the Hebrew tombstone inscriptions of Gerona, incited

thereto by the publication of a book entitled "The Jews of Gerona" by the aforesaid Girbal and also by the articles of Adolf Neubauer in the *Revue Critique de l'Histoire et de Littérature*. He also wished to correct the interpretation which Professor Viscarilla had given these inscriptions.

About 1875 he wrote "The Hebrew Tombstones of Gerona" (*Las lápidas hebreas de Gerona*.)

In 1877 he was made a member of the Academy of History. At the time of his death he was one of its directors. In 1889 he published his important work on the Jews of Spain, *La España hebrea*, the two volumes of which contain valuable historical data.

Many of his writings were published in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*. Here were recorded the results of his archaeological and epigraphical excursions. Here were published inscriptions of the Roman period interpreted by him; in its pages he told of stones with bilingual and trilingual inscriptions, Roman-Hebrew, Visigoth-Roman, Visigoth-Hebrew, Greek-Latin-Hebrew, Greek-Visigoth, and also of Christian ones of the first centuries, genuine Visigothic ones as well as Hebrew ones of Spain and Portugal. Many of his Jewish and Hebrew studies were also published in the *Boletín*.

MOSES J. GRIES.

Moses J. Gries was born January 25, 1868 in Newark, N. J. His parents both died a few years later. Already as a child he showed traits which indicated a special aptitude for the ministry and he was only eleven years of age when he sought to enter the Hebrew Union College at Cincinnati. The application being denied because of his tender age the boy bided his time and three years later he again sought admission into the institution, this time successfully. He attended the high school and the University of Cincinnati at the same time that he studied

at the Hebrew Union College. He was graduated from the University in June 1889 and that same month was ordained as rabbi by Isaac M. Wise, the president of the Hebrew Union College. He had thus little more than reached his majority when he entered the active ministry.

His first charge was the Mizpah Congregation of Chattanooga, Tenn. He remained here three years. In 1892 he was called to the Tiffereth Israel congregation of Cleveland, O., where he officiated for twenty-five years. When he assumed charge of this congregation it was small in numbers and worshipped in an antiquated building on Huron Street. It became evident almost immediately that the congregation had secured in this young rabbi a real leader. He applied to his work that vim and enthusiasm which marked him throughout his career. He took steps well nigh at once towards the erection of a new house of worship and so well did he succeed in arousing the members of the congregation that a new and spacious temple was built the year after his arrival in Cleveland at Central Avenue and Fifty-Fifth Street, the building in which the congregation still worships.

Gries' influence reached far beyond the confines of Cleveland. His great success in his own religious school emboldened him to undertake larger plans. He was a great believer in united action. When therefore in the year 1906 he addressed his fellow-rabbis throughout the state of Ohio and suggested the formation of an organization comprising the religious schools of the state he received hearty encouragement. The organization meeting was held in Cleveland and the Jewish Religious Education Association of Ohio was formed. The founder was elected the first president. This was the first of similar organizations which have been formed in various states and sections throughout the country. But possibly Gries reached the height of his achievements as president (1913-1915) of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Gries was also a member of a number of national Jewish boards, such as the Board of Governors of the Hebrew Union College and the executive Committee of the American Jewish Relief Committee.

Gries gave himself so wholly to the many engrossing tasks that he was often near physical exhaustion. He therefore came to the conclusion that it was necessary for him to retire from the active ministry if he was not to succumb. His announcement of this determination struck dismay into the camp of his congregation and brought sorrow to those who knew how mighty a force for all things fine and pure he was. Despite the efforts which were made to dissuade him from carrying out his resolution he persisted and on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his assumption of the leadership of the Cleveland congregation he retired from active life.

Scarcely more than a year passed after his retirement when the fine soul of Moses J. Gries was translated to the academy on high. On October 30, 1918, he breathed his last. Memorial services were held by the congregation on Sunday morning, December 1, and in the afternoon the children of the school held a similar service. A great and noble life has closed its earthly chapter.

He is survived by his widow (Frances Hays), whom he married in 1898, and two sons, Robert (born in 1901) and Lincoln (born in 1905).

DAVID PHILIPSON.

MORITZ GÜDEMANN.

I gladly undertook the task assigned to me to say a few words about a scholar with whose works every one interested in the study of Jewish history is very familiar and whose learning and industry I often had occasion to admire. But the following remarks on Dr. Güdemann unfortunately must lack that personal touch which one ought to expect in a

necrology. I never had the privilege of personal acquaintance or direct relation with Dr. Güdemann and can only speak of him as the author of his well known books.

In Moritz Güdemann our Society has lost one of its last honorary members. He had been elected in 1902 in recognition of his great merit in the field of Jewish historical research.

Of the history of his life little can be said. He was born in Hildesheim, February 19, 1835, attended the Breslau Seminary from its opening in 1854 to 1862, received his doctor's degree at the Breslau University in 1858, was elected rabbi of Magdeburg in 1862 and was called to Vienna in 1865.

Originally appointed as a preacher to succeed Isaac Noah Mannheimer he was given a full rabbinical position after the death of Rabbi Lazar Horowitz in 1868 and became chief rabbi in 1890. He retired after having passed his eightieth year and died August 5, 1918.

In Vienna Güdemann became associated with Jellinek, the most famous Jewish preacher of the last century. I know nothing about the relation between the two men but they must have been very different in their whole makeup. Güdemann did not possess the brilliant *esprit* and the broad vision which attract us in the writings of the manysided Jellinek. Although he wrote very well and interestingly he was rather a ponderous scholar who impresses us with his great industry and thoroughness. We get sound information but hardly new thoughts and illuminating ideas. Yet Güdemann was by no means onesided.

Güdemann's literary activity was very extensive. He contributed to many of the branches of Jewish learning and life. Bible and Talmud, New Testament and the relation of the Jews and Christians at the beginning of the Christian era again and again attracted his attention in the course of his activity and as the spiritual head of one of the foremost Jewish communities he was naturally thrown into contact with the questions of modern life. But he owes his fame mainly to his

work devoted to the history of Jewish culture and education during the Middle Ages. As this is the part of his activity which particularly interests us I may be permitted to limit myself here to a brief discussion of his historical writings.

One of Güdemann's earliest papers published in 1864 was an interesting treatise on the reorganization of the rabbinic position in the fourteenth century and its influence on Jewish learning. He pointed out how the Vienna rabbi, R. Meir Halevi of Fulda, tried to counteract the decadence threatening the spiritual life of the Jews after the persecutions caused by the black plague. R. Meir tried to improve the position and through this the influence of the rabbis by limiting the right to act as rabbis to those who had received the official ordination, the *Morenu*. In the following year he wrote a history of the Jews of Magdeburg largely based on unpublished material. His *Jüdisches Unterrichtswesen waehrend der Spanish-Arabischen Periode* in which, on the basis of MSS. edited here for the first time, new light is thrown on the general culture of the Spanish Jews, appeared in 1873. The book contains more than the title promises for Güdemann does not restrict himself to the subject of instruction but deals with the question of general education in its broadest sense. In accordance with this larger scope of his work he called the later volumes on the subject which he published from 1880 to 1888 *Geschichte des Erziehungswesens und der Kultur der abendländischen Juden während des Mittelalters und der Neuere Zeit*. Güdemann follows in the footsteps of Berliner's small but very important treatise *Aus dem inneren Leben der deutschen Juden im Mittelalter*. Berliner had been the first to point to the wealth of interesting and important information concerning the inner life of the Mediaeval Jews which can be gained from the legalistic literature. Heretofore only purely historical references found in codes or responsa had occasionally been utilized as historical sources. It is Berliner's great merit to have sketched the daily life, the joys

and sorrows, the plays and customs of the Jews on the basis of a branch of literature which formerly had only been consulted as a legal source but had been neglected by the historian. Güdemann wrote his book on a more elaborate plan than Berliner and he extended his source material by a wide reading in the contemporary non-Jewish literature out of which he on the one hand was able to gather the reactions of the Jews on their surroundings and on the other to trace the background for his picture of the life of the Jews which after all can only be appreciated in relation to its time.

Of the three volumes, the first deals with the Jews of France and Germany down to the fourteenth century, the second is devoted to Italy during the Middle Ages with a special chapter on the Jews in Sicily; the third volume carries on the history of the culture of the German Jews during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and includes those Jews who had emigrated to Northern Italy. But the concluding part dealing with the history down to Mendelssohn never appeared although the author seemed to have planned it for many years. Thus in the translation of a very curious document sketching the plan of a Jewish university in Mantua in the middle of the sixteenth century he promised further discussion in a later volume of his work.

The third volume involved Güdemann in a controversy with Ludwig Geiger, at that time the editor of the *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*. In the latter (vol. iii, pp. 379-386) Geiger subjected Güdemann's book to a very severe criticism because he thought that Güdemann showed a tendency to deal more leniently with the Jews than with their Christian contemporaries. Geiger maintained that Güdemann drew unfavorable conclusions on the immorality and ignorance of the German people from passages of contemporary literature while he omitted to draw identical conclusions from similar passages of Jewish writers complaining

about the wickedness of their time. He found here the same tendency as appears with the

one who has devoted a large number of books to the history of the Jews but who rather harmed than furthered the science of history.

This estimate of the work of Graetz shows how prejudiced the reviewer was against Graetz's pupil. Güdemann vigorously answered in a pamphlet *Ludwig Geiger als Kritiker der neuesten jüdischen Geschichtsschreibung*, refusing to recognize the authority of a critic who had to confess his inability to check the Hebrew references, the most important part of the book. Geiger could only answer in generalities and Güdemann undoubtedly had the better of the argument, but in the heat of controversy he had permitted himself to be carried away to make one statement to which Geiger could easily take exception and which he made the center of his answer. Güdemann stated that one has to be a Jew in order to be qualified to write the history of our people. While there may be a good deal of general truth in that claim for the present time, yet what is really required is not Judaism but Jewish learning and an unprejudiced attitude. Geiger could point to some contributions like Stobbe's famous book on the Jews in Germany as a refutation of Güdemann's requirement.

If one were to conclude from Geiger's criticism that Güdemann tried to paint the cultural history of the Jews during the Middle Ages in glowing colors only, one would be strongly mistaken. Güdemann tried to show the various sides and devoted, for instance, considerable space to the curious kinds of superstition in thought and practice so prevalent at the time. He pointed to the inner dissensions and gave a true estimate of the literary development and sometimes also of its decadence. It was not so much the description of the favorable conditions of the Jews but his reference to the fact that the Jews on the average stood on a higher moral and cultural

level than their Christian contemporaries which roused the indignation of Geiger's German patriotism.

In the volumes just discussed the history of education plays a much larger part on the title pages than in the body of the books, since the material available for this subject is extremely meagre. This is evident at a glance at Güdemann's later book, *Quellenschriften zur Geschichte und Erziehung der deutschen Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf Mendelssohn*, in which he translated in full all the sources found in legal and ethical books, wills and statutes of communities, etc. Of the 300 pages of these sources only fifty deal with education during the Middle Ages, the bulk of the volume being devoted to the following three centuries. This scant material is, of course, not sufficient for an elaborate history of education and its discussion can and does only form an insignificant part of Güdemann's two volumes devoted to the Jews in Mediaeval Germany.

I cannot try in this place to enumerate his minor contributions in our field or his important books on other subjects, his valuable defence of Judaism against the attacks of Christian theologians or his pamphlets on *National-Judenthum*, 1897, directed against Herzl's then new theory, but I want to point out in conclusion that Güdemann did all his work as the rabbi of one of the very large Jewish communities which naturally made constant demands on his time and attention. He carried forward the old tradition that the rabbi is the Jewish scholar even though he may put the problems of modern Jewish science in the place of Talmudical difficulties and Halakhic question. He, like many of his costudents of the same period, acquired lasting merit in the furtherance of Jewish learning. It is fervently to be hoped that this combination will continue and will be imitated by the younger men.

ALEXANDER MARX.

WILLIAM B. HACKENBURG.

William B. Hackenburg was born in Philadelphia, June 2, 1837, and died there June 27, 1918, in his eighty-second year.

His long life was marked by unceasing labor for the general good. As a manufacturer and merchant he promoted a useful industry, as a citizen he participated actively in public causes, as a Jew he was to the fore in every undertaking that promoted Jewish unity, charity or education.

He was, in consequence, greatly esteemed by his contemporaries throughout the country and beyond, and especially so by his fellow-citizens of his own city and state.

To attempt to catalogue his multifarious activities would be out of place here. Nevertheless a few of them must be mentioned.

First and foremost in his affection was the Jewish Hospital of Philadelphia, which was in his thoughts daily and hourly for more than half a century. As a young man, he was one of its founders, became a member of its first board of directors, was its treasurer for ten years and its president for forty. His was the rare fortune to witness its rise from the humblest beginnings to a foremost place among the great institutions of his native city. He saw it as a modest little dwelling which could receive but few inmates, and lived till it expanded into a stately domain of more than twenty acres with groups of buildings adapted for its highest usefulness as a general hospital, a special hospital for private patients, a Home for aged and infirm Israelites, a Home for Incurables of the Jewish Faith and a great public dispensary with all the accessories necessary to place each of these utilities in the first rank. From a little concern which spent barely five thousand dollars per year it grew beneath his vision to a great institution with an annual expenditure of one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, all husbanded under his fostering care, with the prudence and the economical spirit which marked its earliest days.

His interest in and his affection for the Masonic fraternity were very great. His initiation was as early as 1861, and to the last he maintained his devotion. For forty-eight years, he represented his lodge in the Grand Lodge of the State of Pennsylvania, on whose Committee of Appeals he served for thirty-eight years; and finally in 1907 he became the R. W. Grand Treasurer of the Grand Lodge, continuing in that office until his death.

Though never a candidate for public office he was appointed a member of the Board of Prison Inspectors of Philadelphia in 1896 and was annually reappointed until he resigned, within the last few years.

High trusts were also confided to him. The Baron de Hirsch, in the deed of gift of his great fund, named him as one of the trustees, and Moses A. Dropsie, in the will which provided for the founding of Dropsie College, appointed him as one of its governors.

One instance more and I have done. In 1876 the Board of Delegates of American Israelites and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations appointed committees to gather statistics "concerning the American Israelites." These committees acting together appointed Mr. Hackenburg as their chairman. He at once devised and carried out the plan of the work "with untiring zeal," to use the words of the committee, and the report was submitted in 1878. It was published in 1880 by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in a little volume of 59 pages. As the first systematic attempt at something like a Jewish census of this country it still has value, though the extensive immigration of later years has made necessary a new effort in the same direction.

William B. Hackenburg was a rare personality. He had exceptional vigor both of mind and body, ceaseless energy and untiring industry. Above all he was a lover of mankind whose constant craving was to serve and to help all that

needed help. In the exercise of those qualities, he found enduring happiness.

“The memory of the righteous shall be for a blessing.”

MAYER SULZBERGER.

EDWARD L. HEINSHEIMER.

Edward Lewis Heinsheimer was born in the city of Cincinnati, April 1, 1861, the son of Lewis and Emma (Goodhart) Heinsheimer. His entire life, barring a few years during which he lived in New York preparing for his business career, was spent in the city of his birth. Here he unfolded that fine activity which made him not only a prominent citizen of the municipality but one of the leading spirits in the Jewish community.

Though interested in all the higher life of Jewry his chief devotion was given to the Hebrew Union College. He was connected in one capacity or another with the institution from the day of its opening, October 3, 1875. He was one of a band of Cincinnati youths who, under the guidance of the founder of the College, Isaac M. Wise, enrolled as students at the opening. He attended the classes for two years. He was appointed a member of the board of governors of the College, June 26, 1892, and was elected president of the board February 1, 1910, in which capacity he served literally till the moment of his death, for the final summons came to him while he was presiding at the meeting of December 11, 1917.

He was active too in other directions. As a member of the executive board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, as one of the trustees of the fund donated by Jacob H. Schiff for the foundation of teachers' institutes in connection with the Hebrew Union College and the Jewish Theological Seminary, as chairman of the Cincinnati branch of the American Jewish Relief Committee, as a member of the City Planning Commission of Cincinnati, he displayed the same distinguished qualities which marked his service as member and

president of the board of governors. He was zealous in all good works. Several years before his death he had retired from active business and practically all his time was given to religious and communal service. He was indeed a high type of American citizenship and Jewish devotion.

He is survived by his widow, a daughter of the late Julius Freiberg, and three daughters, Emma (Mrs. Senior Prince), Duffie (Mrs. Irvin F. Westheimer), and Stella.

DAVID PHILIPSON.

ALBERT HESSBERG.

Albert Hessberg died at Albany, N. Y., July 25, 1920. He had achieved success at the bar and was recognized as one of the leading factors in the professional, commercial, religious, philanthropic and social activities of his native city. He was born in Albany, December 13, 1856; was educated in the public schools and graduated from the high school. He was a member of the law firm of Peckham, Rosendale & Hessberg, the senior member of which became a judge of the Court of Appeals of the State of New York, and an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court.

Mr. Hessberg besides being active in the practice of his profession as a member of this firm, served as assistant corporation counsel of Albany, and was twice elected recorder (city judge). He was well known as among the leading lawyers of the state; was a director of and counsel for the leading bank in the city, and a trustee of one of its largest savings banks. He was active as a governor of the Albany Hospital, and was for many years and at the time of his death treasurer of the New York State Bar Association, and trustee and treasurer of the Schuyler Mansion, one of the state's historical organizations.

He was actively and prominently identified with many Jewish organizations. He was president of the Albany Jewish

Home Society, to which he devoted much time and effort. He was an ardent supporter of the Congregation Beth Emeth and his time and his efforts could always be commanded for a worthy Jewish cause.

He was no less identified with every public, patriotic or philanthropic movement, and every effort for improvement and betterment found in him a warm supporter. He sustained a deserved reputation as one of the best citizens of the community.

SIMON W. ROSENDALE.

SAMUEL I. HYMAN.

Samuel Isaac Hyman, business man, philanthropist and communal worker, was born in New York City, May 28, 1870. His father, Gershon Hyman, was rabbi of the Old Allen Street Synagogue, and he it was who implanted in his son strict fidelity to Jewish tradition, a knowledge of Jewish law, and above all, a passionate love for Judaism and the Jewish people. When Samuel I. Hyman was ten years of age, his father died. He continued his Jewish studies, but it was to the early influence of his father that he ascribed the intensely Jewish attitude which controlled and guided his actions throughout his life.

His secular education he received in the New York public schools and in the College of the City of New York. At the age of eighteen he entered business.

Ever since his friends can remember, Samuel I. Hyman was actively connected with Jewish organizations, particularly with the religious and cultural aspects of Jewish life, the synagogue and the school. As a young man he was active in the old synagogue of Rabbi Baum on 82d Street. He was chairman of the building committee which erected the present synagogue of the Kehillath Jeshurun Congregation, on East 85th Street, and for a period of over fifteen years was one of its leading trustees.

Early in 1900 he and a few of his friends were struck by the spiritual tragedy presented by the life of the summer colony of Jews in Arverne, L. I. Moved by their own needs for Jewish spiritual life, the small group of communally-minded Jews, of which Samuel I. Hyman was one of the leading spirits, realized the need of a religious educational center for the Jewish adults and children of Arverne. In 1906 the synagogue of the Derech Emunoh Congregation was built to supply this need. It is worth noting that this beautiful structure was not built in the accepted Moorish or Byzantine style of architecture, but was deliberately constructed in the spirit of the American colonial architects. Samuel I. Hyman was treasurer and honorary secretary of the congregation for many years, and at the time of his death was one of its trustees.

His interest in the synagogue as the religious center for Jewish adults, led him to an equally zealous devotion to the Jewish school, as the educational center for Jewish children. Indeed, Jewish education came to occupy the center of his attention. Hence he founded the Central Jewish Institute.

He was one of the organizers of the Federation of Jewish Charities, and rendered valuable service in it. The cry for "bread and soup" from the sufferers in Europe found him devoting his heart and his might unstintingly to the humane work of the American Jewish Relief Committee, of which he was a member until his death.

Samuel I. Hyman was entrusted with many positions of communal responsibility by the Jews of this city. At the time of his death, July 12, 1917, he was a member of the executive committee of the Kehillah; member of the board of organizers of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Institutions; member of the American Jewish Relief Committee; trustee of the Kehillath Jeshurun Congregation and of the Derech Emunoh Congregation; and president of the Central Jewish Institute.

SIMON I. KOHN.

Simon I. Kohn was the son of Isaac and Yetta Techner Kohn, and was born at Meadville, Pennsylvania, on January 8, 1851. When he was six years old the family moved to Philadelphia, where he spent the remainder of his life. He was educated in private schools, but went at an early age into his father's business, Kohn, Adler & Company, jobbers in millinery and silk goods. He afterwards succeeded to the proprietorship of this concern, and it was essentially due to his business acumen and untiring energy that the company grew into one of the largest and most successful of its kind in the country. More important, however, than its financial growth was the reputation which it acquired for probity and honest dealing, a reflection of his lofty ethical ideals and uncompromising integrity.

In the philanthropic and social service activities of Philadelphia Jewry, Mr. Kohn played a leading part. For thirty years he was a director of the Jewish Hospital Association, and for a long period the chairman of the committee on the home for aged Israelites. In his later years he was a trustee and treasurer of the Max and Sarah Bamberger Seashore Home at Atlantic City. He was one of the leading subscribers to charitable organizations in the city of Philadelphia, and his contributions were not at all confined to Jewish organization, for in philanthropy as in all other affairs and enterprises of life, his vision was large and his good impulses unfettered by any taint of narrowness or sectarianism. Moreover, his charitable gifts were made not only in the public eye but in thousands of private cases in which, in addition to his money, he gave his time, his efforts, and the sympathetic understanding of a great heart.

Mr. Kohn was a man of cultured tastes and had a sincere and intelligent love of learning. He was an inveterate reader of all that is best in literature. He was a gentleman in the best sense of the word, kindly in manner, dignified in deport-

ment, devoted to the best traditions of his people. Musical organizations, societies for the advancement of the fine arts, religious and secular associations for the furtherance of education, scientific bodies, all these that came within the range of his attention, found in him a loyal supporter and an enthusiastic friend. His was distinctly a life of high thinking and plain living.

The outstanding feature of Mr. Kohn's personality was his modesty. He was as shy of being detected in a worthy and self-sacrificing act as others would be in an ignoble one. So retiring was he that only the discerning discovered in him the elements of a noble soul, and only the comparatively few who knew him intimately were able to penetrate the veil which he himself wove around the practice of his humanitarian impulses, and thereby to learn to love the man who cared only for the doing of worthy deeds and shunned the public recognition of them.

Mr. Kohn died at Atlantic City on July 15, 1920.

HORACE STERN.

LOUIS S. LEVI.

Louis S. Levi was born in Cincinnati, November 29, 1857, the son of Solomon and Hannah Levi. He received his education in the public schools of Cincinnati, and when he reached manhood's estate he entered his father's business. In early life he retired from active business and devoted his entire time to service in public and philanthropic causes.

Like his father before him, he took a very deep interest in the Jewish Orphan Asylum at Cleveland, Ohio. After serving as a director for a number of years, he was elected president of the board of the institution. When the charities of Cincinnati were federated under the name and title, "The United Jewish Charities" (now "The United Jewish Social Agencies"), he was appointed a delegate to the board of

directors from the Hebrew General Relief Association, one of the constituent organizations. His colleagues on this board honored him by electing him president. He served also as president of the B'nai Yeshurun Congregation, as a member of the board of governors of the Hebrew Union College and as a director of the Lincoln National Bank.

As a member of the commission appointed by the mayor of Cincinnati to superintend the building of the new Cincinnati General Hospital, he was largely instrumental in bringing to successful completion the construction of this great institution, possibly the finest municipal hospital in the country. By a strange coincidence he passed away almost on the same day as did his close friend, the originator of the hospital, Dr. Christian R. Holes. His death took place January 9, 1920.

He is survived by his widow and four children, Solomon, Ruth, the wife of Rabbi Horace J. Wolf, of Rochester, New York, Morton and Miriam.

DAVID PHILIPSON.

ADOLPH MARIX.

Adolph Marix, whose investigations following the sinking of the *Maine* in Havana harbor, Cuba, February 15, 1898, directly caused the declaration of war with Spain, was born in Dresden, Saxony, May 10, 1848. He was brought to this country in infancy when his parents, Dr. Henry and Frederica Marix, emigrated for political reasons, the family settling in Iowa. The father was a professor of languages in Russia and after coming to this country was employed in the State and Treasury Departments of the Government as a translator of languages. Dr. Marix made a specialty of translating articles into English from continental newspapers for the information of President Lincoln during the Civil War, and his acquaintance with Lincoln enabled him to obtain the appointment of his son to the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis,

Md., in the fall of 1864. Young Marix graduated from the Academy with the class of 1868, at the age of twenty. His advancement in the Navy followed rapidly. In 1869 he was promoted to the rank of ensign and in the following year was assigned to special duty on the *U. S. S. Congress*, in connection with a Polar expedition. The same year he became master and two years later lieutenant, after which he was assigned to the office of the Judge-Advocate-General, there gaining the experience that helped him later in 1898 when he became Judge Advocate of the *Maine* disaster Board of Inquiry. In 1893 he was promoted again and assigned to the *Maine*, when she was one of the new ships which were the pride of the navy, becoming her first executive officer. He served with the ill-fated battleship from the time she was first put in commission until January, 1898, just a few weeks before she was blown up in Havana harbor. In the same year he was put in command of the *U. S. S. Scorpion*, and promoted to the rank of commander. During the Spanish-American War he was advanced two numbers by an Act of Congress for eminent and conspicuous conduct in battle. He was supervisor of naval auxiliaries and president of the board which tried various types of submarines, selecting the one adopted by the Navy Department, and then was chairman of the Lighthouse Board until his retirement for age. On July 4, 1908, he was appointed Rear Admiral by President Taft, one of his close friends, a friendship which was cemented while he was a naval attaché at the Philippine Islands at the time when Mr. Taft was Governor-General. When Commander Marix was promoted to the rank of Rear Admiral he became the first Jew of that rank, practically the highest in the United States Navy. In April, 1910, on attaining the age of sixty-two years Admiral Marix was retired from active service under the provisions of an Act of Congress. In his career of forty-five years in the Navy twenty-four years were spent upon the sea.

Admiral Marix was recognized as the foremost expert in the United States Navy on all matters relating to naval and maritime law. He had been appointed on numerous occasions to positions requiring tact and ability and was considered an officer of great force, character and individuality, a rigid disciplinarian, a man of quick decision, and his career was one of the most brilliant in the naval service.

In private life his manner of speech was quiet, deliberate and unmarked by haste or heat. He was a member of the Army and Navy Club of Washington and a corresponding member of the American Jewish Historical Society, and after his retirement manifested a considerable interest in Jewish communal affairs, and also in the welfare of the "black Jews" known as Falashas, living in the mountainous regions of Abyssinia.

Admiral Marix died on July 11, 1919, in Gloucester, Mass., at the age of seventy-one and his remains are interred in the National Cemetery at Arlington, Va.

MARK J. KÄTZ.

STANLEY V. MASTBAUM.

Stanley V. Mastbaum was born in the city of Philadelphia, April 1, 1879, the son of Levi and Fanny Ephraim Mastbaum. He attended the Public Schools and the Northeast Manual Training School of Philadelphia, and also Ursinus College. On leaving college he entered the employ of Gimbel Brothers, for whom he became the buyer of Oriental rugs.

In March, 1908, he married Miss Hilda Ganzman, of Philadelphia. Shortly thereafter, he decided to abandon the rug business for real estate. From the first, his new firm prospered.

In 1913, while retaining his active interest in the real estate firm, Mastbaum took up a new and even more absorbing interest,—the moving picture business. He was as successful in this as in real estate.

Although Mastbaum died at the early age of thirty-nine, March 7, 1918, he had already made a lasting impression on the business world. For his achievements and rapid successes there, he will be long remembered. But his greatest claim to the recognition of coming generations rests on his manifold deeds of benevolence. In addition to contributing to all the charitable institutions in Philadelphia, he gave freely to individual cases, being always accessible to the needy of no matter what creed or race.

LEON H. ELMALAH.

FREDERICK NATHAN.

When Frederick Nathan was born, April 23, 1844, there were only about ten thousand Jews in the City of New York; his ancestors had resided in the United States since early in the eighteenth century; and their honorable and patriotic service to this country no doubt influenced and controlled his career. He in his turn, as an American and as a Jew, was active in the civic and religious life of the community, and in the problems which arose from time to time he aided generously and gladly. Thus, many links with the early history of the Jews in New York were severed at his death on January 28, 1918.

He was the son of Benjamin Nathan, a prominent member of the New York Stock Exchange, who died in 1870, and he was a grandson of Seixas Nathan, who was in 1817 one of the signers of the constitution of the Stock Exchange, and who died in New York in 1852. He was a great-grandson of Simon Nathan, who came from England in the eighteenth century, and died in New York in 1822, being the first of that family who came to America. His mother Emily, was a daughter of Harmon Hendricks who died in New York in 1854, and the last-named was a son of Uriah Hendricks, whose business was established in 1764, in New York, where it is still continued.

Benjamin Mendes Seixas, father of his paternal grandmother, was a colonel in the Revolutionary Army, and Isaac Mendes Seixas, the father of Benjamin, was a signer of the Non-Importation Act.

Frederick Nathan was therefore a direct descendant of the Nathan, Seixas and Hendricks families, all of which were intimately connected with the social and business life of early New York, and through his mother he was connected with the Gomez family.

The subject of this sketch commenced his business career in 1869, when he became a member of the New York Stock Exchange, and retained his connection until his death. In early manhood he joined the New York State Militia as a member of the Seventh Regiment; he was on duty during the Draft Riots in New York in 1863, and later served in Maryland when his regiment joined the Union Army. He continued his interest in military affairs as a member of the Seventh Regiment Veteran Association, and also as a member of Lafayette Post, No. 140, G. A. R.

In social and communal affairs he was prominent and helpful. For many years he was a member of the Union Club, and of several other clubs; he was connected with many philanthropic organizations in New York; and he was a generous contributor to Jewish charities; his father was one of the founders of Mount Sinai Hospital, and its president, when it was known as the Jews' Hospital. He was particularly interested in the Home for Aged & Infirm Hebrews, of which he was a director for over thirty-five years. He adhered to the tenets of traditional Judaism, and was a member, and at one time a trustee, of the Shearith Israel Congregation, with which his ancestors were identified in the eighteenth century.

He married Maud, a daughter of Robert W. Nathan. The death of an only child at the age of nine saddened their lives, but brought them in close and affectionate relation with kins-

men and friends, and seemed to inspire them with greater zeal to help both young and old who were in need. His wife, who survived him, loyally supported him in all his work; theirs was a rare comradeship, and made them welcome in all circles, and they brought cheer and happiness into the lives of many weary wayfarers.

It is difficult to present a true picture of the man by reciting the incidents of his life. To those who knew him intimately it was perhaps the tenderness of his nature, and his eagerness to serve others that marked his character. He had a rare gentleness, and his genial and generous nature won for him many friends, particularly among children, whom he loved. He was loyal to Judaism; he was true to the highest demands of duty; and his piety, simplicity and sincerity impressed all who were privileged to know him as one who loyally fulfilled all obligations to his country and to his fellow-men.

EDGAR J. NATHAN.

MORRIS NEWBURGER.

Economic America has from time to time been saved by the successive waves of immigration. Each one of the European nations has in its turn supplied that which America has needed to revitalize the attenuated economic structure. The older settlers, the pioneers, died off and their descendants no longer gave to America that sturdiness which was essential.

The history of American Jewry very closely approximates that of economic America. The pioneers brought with them the traditions and customs of the ancient faith. The devotion of their descendants to these ideals and customs had become attenuated through indifference and by intermarriage, and often through a false idea for social preferment. At such times we find that immigration of Jews from Europe infused into the Jewish communities a strong leaven of those who still clung to the laws and customs of ancient Israel. One of the

lowest ebbs of Jewish life occurred during the decade or two just previous to the Civil War.

It was then that the sturdy sons of Germany came to these shores. They came with unquestioning belief in and devotion for those things which have always been dear to the Jew, the Law, tradition, observance and, above all, the Sacred Tongue. They came in large numbers, and in the decade after the Civil War became the most numerous and most powerful factor in the preservation of Jewish thought and Jewish observance.

Among the many who came over during this time was Morris Newburger, who arrived in America in 1854. He was born in Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Germany, November 12, 1834. His father was a teacher and from him the son received that knowledge of Hebrew and that deepseated reverence and love for Judaism which were moving factors throughout his long and useful life. As a youth, he received a liberal academic education and came to America with a mental as well as a religious equipment that easily and naturally made him a leader among his fellowmen. His knowledge of and love for the ancient faith was in future years of great benefit in the rebirth of American Jewry. His efforts were confined to religious work, but his love for his adopted country was also shown in his work for the public at large. Before coming to America, Morris Newburger spent some time in mercantile pursuits and was therefore well fitted for business, in which he embarked on his arrival in New York. After a short stay in the South, he established himself in business in Cedar Rapids, Ia., in 1856, subsequently removing to Rock Island, Ill. Early in 1863, he came to Philadelphia and entered into partnership with Adolph, Albert and David Hochstadter, brothers of his wife. The firm Newburger and Hochstadter established a large wholesale clothing manufacturing enterprise. Upon the removal of his brothers-in-law to New York, he associated his sons with himself. About the year 1905, the

clothing business was discontinued and the banking firm of Newburger, Henderson & Loeb was established.

Mr. Newburger's attainments and tastes did not allow business alone to engross his efforts. For more than twenty-five years he was a trustee of Congregation Keneseth Israel, for a number of years serving a vice-president. His love for learning naturally brought to him the chairmanship of its school committee. He also served on the board of governors of the Hebrew Union College.

His love for his adopted country impelled him to give his efforts to a committee which did much towards the success of the Centennial Exposition held at Philadelphia in 1876. His desire for civic righteousness made him a figure in municipal reform movements, he serving as a member of the Committee of One Hundred and afterwards of the Committee of Fifty.

But by far the activity that epitomized his whole character was that as president of the Jewish Publication Society of America. Mr. Newburger was chosen as its first president because he was best fitted by education, by love and knowledge of Judaism and by business experience. He unreservedly threw himself into the harness. He brought the society through many trials of the formative period and placed it on a sound foundation. He was universally kind and considerate toward his co-workers.

It was during his term of office, extending over fifteen years, that the translation of the Bible had its inception. He saw that American Jewry needed the Holy Scriptures in their own tongue. Although it was a quarter of a century before the hope was realized, he had the satisfaction of seeing the fruition of the project originally determined upon.

His was a character both forceful and gentle; a mind well stored with knowledge, both secular and religious; a heart that was warm with love for family life and full of piety and love for the traditions of Israel. His death at Atlantic City in his eighty-third year removed one of the few remaining

figures of the German immigration of the latter half of the nineteenth century, which did so much to infuse new life and new hope into American Jewry.

SIMON MILLER.

JULIUS F. SACHSE.

At our sixth annual meeting, held in New York, in December, 1897, one of the papers presented was that which treated of Jacob Philadelphia, mystic and physicist, of which Julius Friedrich Sachse was the author. It was printed in the sixteenth number of our *Publications*. In October, 1907, the author of this paper was chosen a corresponding member of this Society by our Executive Council. Once more, at the twenty-third annual meeting of this Society, in New York in February, 1915, Julius F. Sachse was represented on the programme by a paper of his, bearing the title "Moses Michael Hays and the Introduction of Sublime Masonry into the United States." This paper, growing out of its author's abiding interest in the beginnings of Freemasonry in this country and the relations of the Jews thereto, was duly presented and elicited considerable favorable comment and discussion. Julius F. Sachse did not confine his interest in our work to these two public appearances. He wrote much on various historical topics, and never failed to indicate his debt to writers whose works appear in our *Publications*.

Julius Friedrich Sachse, a descendant of the sturdy German pioneers who settled in Pennsylvania several centuries since, was born in Philadelphia, November 22, 1842, and died in that city on November 15, 1919, aged almost seventy-seven years. He received his education in the grammar schools and the old Lutheran Academy of his native city. In later life, to afford tangible evidence of the public appreciation of his labors of authorship, Muhlenberg College conferred upon him the honorary degree of Litt. D. He was extremely active in the

Pennsylvania German Society and wrote extensively on the Pennsylvania Germans, their history and interesting customs.

The chief love of Julius F. Sachse, however, centred on the history of Freemasonry. Early in life he had received the symbolic degrees of the ancient craft in Columbia Lodge, No. 91, of Philadelphia, of which he became subsequently the master for a season. In 1906 he was appointed by the committee on library of the Right Worshipful Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania librarian and curator of its splendid collection of books and museum objects, a collection, be it added, which has made the stately pile at North Broad and Filbert Streets, Philadelphia, known and highly valued throughout the Masonic world. He held this post until the hour of his death and brought to it an enthusiasm and an unflagging devotion which are exemplary.

This phase of the life-work of the late Julius F. Sachse has no relation to the interests of our Society; yet it may not be amiss to mention that in this period he produced either in collaboration or independently a large number of valuable works on the history of Freemasonry. Some of these contain a great deal of information of Jewish historical interest, for example, the three volumes of "Freemasonry in Pennsylvania, 1727-1907," the two volumes of "Old Masonic Lodges of Pennsylvania, 1730-1800," and the papers constituting his account of the beginnings of the Ancient Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry in this country. Out of the last-named grew his paper on Hays at our meeting of 1915, previously referred to. Out of his book on Washington's Masonic career was evolved the theory, which he tenaciously held but was unfortunately never able to demonstrably prove, that our first President received and accepted the addresses presented to him on his visit to Newport in 1790 by the local Jewish congregation and the Masonic lodge in the hall of the synagogue built by Peter Harrison.

ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG.

WILLIAM SALOMON.

William Salomon, whose death occurred on December 14, 1919, was one of the few survivors of an early American Jewry that in our own times is passing all too rapidly into history.

Born in 1852 at Mobile, Ala., as the son of David Salomon, he brought with him into life traditions that placed him at once in a front rank; he was the direct descendant of one whose name stands out in bold relief in the records of the earlier history of the American nation. Haym Salomon, William Salomon's great-grandfather, noted Philadelphia banker, willingly placed all he possessed at the disposal of George Washington and his associates to help in financing the Revolution, which forever freed our country from foreign domination and permanently established this free and independent nation.

William Salomon himself never boastful but proud of his ancestry, ever endeavored to worthily represent the lineage he had sprung from. Thus he readily coöperated in every movement destined to raise the standing of the Jew, and, in particular, to Americanize those coming to us from foreign shores. Three decades ago when the Educational Alliance in New York was founded, William Salomon promptly connected himself with it as one of its directors and became its treasurer soon thereafter, a position he held until he passed away. He was also a life member of the American Jewish Historical Society, at the organization of which, some twenty-eight years ago, he took pains to secure dissemination among colleges and libraries for its publications.

His business career was high and distinguished. At the age of hardly more than fifteen, he entered the office of Speyer & Co., one of the leading foreign banking-houses of New York, as an office-boy and, before long, so distinguished himself by the intelligence and grasp he developed, that the firm sent him abroad before he had reached the age of twenty. In order that he might have an opportunity to become fully

acquainted with foreign business methods, he passed through a period of service in the offices of the parent house of the Speyers at Frankfort-on-Main, Germany; later, before he returned here, he was given the opportunity by the firm to stay a short while for the gaining of further knowledge and experience with its London branch. He had scarcely passed his majority, when he returned to New York a thoroughly educated banker. Again entering the offices of Speyer & Co., William Salomon was soon entrusted with a power of attorney of the firm and managerial powers, until, at the age of hardly thirty, he was admitted into regular partnership, a position he held for more than fifteen years, and which he left to become Chairman of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, which had just been reorganized with the active co-operation of the Speyers and in which the latter were considerable shareholders. He soon succeeded in again placing the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad upon a remunerative basis and in reestablishing its credit. Before long, the Pennsylvania Railroad, its powerful neighbor, deemed it well to acquire control, and upon this, William Salomon withdrew from the chairmanship of the company. He then founded the firm of William Salomon & Co., which, before very long, took high rank in the financial community. At the height of his firm's fame, its founder, after a short illness, passed away.

What had made for this success were the sterling qualities he possessed; great intelligence, absolute straight-forwardness and an excellent judgment of men and matters. The generation in which he lived will be certain to miss him.

JACOB H. SCHIFF.

JACOB H. SCHIFF.

Jacob H. Schiff was born in Frankfort-on-the-Main, January 10, 1847. He came of a family which is known to have been settled at Frankfort as early as 1370 and contained a

long line of distinguished rabbinical and scholarly men. He removed to America at the age of eighteen and became one of the leading bankers of the United States. The limits imposed by our meeting make it impossible to describe his business career nor is this the time to do it. It is in place, however, to say that as a business man he had the mind of a statesman. I illustrate this statement by two chance remarks of his that I recall. On one occasion someone asked him in my presence whether he thought that the trend of the stock market at the moment was an indication of unfavorable business conditions. He replied:

If you want to have a true understanding of business conditions, do not watch the stock market; watch the crop reports.

On another occasion when the fancied possibility of control by bankers was being discussed, he said that no one had to be so sensitive to public opinion as the banker, even more so than the politician; that no banker could afford to put out a loan that the people would not take.

Mr. Schiff was most widely known because of his interest in public affairs and this interest was all-embracing. Though, I believe, he did not have a college education, he possessed much more cultivation than falls to the lot of even most college graduates, for he was a wide reader and had an open mind. He possessed a passion for education and learning and his numerous benefactions in a variety of directions attest this. He had the Jewish respect for learning (possibly I should say the old Jewish respect for learning) and I am sure paid much more deference to scholars than he did to any other particular group of men, although he was so courteous and his sympathy so broad, that all men held for him a profound interest.

Before a Society like this, it is not out of place to mention Mr. Schiff's benefactions to the cause of Jewish learning, as exhibited in his support of the Jewish Theological Seminary, the Hebrew Union College, the creation of the Semitic

Museum at Harvard and the support of its archaeological expedition to Samaria, the Jewish department of the New York Public Library, the new translation of the Bible issued by the Jewish Publication Society, the creation of a fund for a series of Jewish Classics to be issued by that society, the large support given for the establishment of a Hebrew press which is shortly to begin its career and innumerable other actions of this nature which may be unknown to me or which I have failed to recite.

Of this Society he was a member since its foundation and he frequently attended its meetings; he occasionally presented a biographical sketch of a friend, rendered possible the acquisition of the Lyons Collection and was one of the supporters of our publication fund secured some ten year ago. It was he who largely encouraged us in maintaining our historical collections and in strongly advising that they be kept separate and not be mingled with that of any other organization; thus, I think, indicating his belief both in their usefulness and in their permanence.

On one occasion he wrote me:

The Jewish Historical Society, which embraces a group of earnest students who have through research and otherwise brought forward and have well substantiated the justice of the claim that the Jew is by no means an interloper here, but that ever since his first landing on these shores, more than two hundred and fifty years ago, has legitimately endeavored to benefit by the opportunities offered him and has earnestly sought to become an American. . . .

I am of the opinion that Mr. Schiff was a personage of such importance in the world that his career should be recorded in a formal biography and this opinion is not based upon the affection in which I held him, but because of his importance for the period in which he lived and the remarkable way in which his personality impressed itself upon the imagination of men.

His private life was one of great sweetness and charm and his friendship was a rare privilege which is enshrined as a beautiful memory.

CYRUS ADLER.

MAX SCHLESINGER.

Rabbi Max Schlesinger, Ph. D., of Congregation Beth Emeth, Albany, N. Y., died December 28, 1919, aged eighty-three years. His was an unique record in the history of the rabbinate of America, he having served his congregation for almost fifty-five years—the last twelve of which as Emeritus.

He was a good type of the scholar in Israel. He received much of his theological education in Prague, Bohemia, and his degree of Ph. D. at Leipsic, Germany. He was profoundly learned, not only in Hebrew and cognate languages, but in Greek and Latin. He was one of the prominent adherents and expounders of American Reform Judaism, as he was an early pulpit successor and follower of its distinguished leader. He was deeply religious; the purity of his life and lofty character were an inspiration not only to the members of his congregation, but to the community of which he was so long a highly-respected, honored and active citizen. He was a valued contributor to "The Jewish Encyclopedia," and translated the book of Zephaniah for "The Holy Scriptures" recently issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America. It was well said of him by a former associate that "his life was the embodiment of his faith and his faith was the projection of his life."

SIMON W. ROSENDALE.

ISAAC E. SCHORSCH.

Isaac E. Schorsch, a member of the American Jewish Historical Society since the beginning of 1918, died after a brief illness at his summer residence in Arverne, Long Island, on

August 19, 1918. He was born in New York, on October 30, 1868, the son of Emanuel Schorsch and Babette Schorsch, *née* Hirsch. At the age of two years he removed with his parents to Seale, Alabama, and in 1896 he returned to his birthplace. On October 21, 1900, he was married to his cousin, Sophie Schorsch, the daughter of Moses and Ricka Schorsch, and she and their son, Emanuel, survived him at his premature demise.

When he returned to New York Isaac E. Schorsch engaged in the business of dealing in paper bags, and in 1901 he founded the firm of Schorsch & Company, manufacturers of paper bags, of which he was the senior member at the time of his death. Through persistent application and assiduity his firm became one of the largest and most important in this industry, maintaining one of the best and most extensive plants of its kind in the Borough of the Bronx since 1913. He was an organizer and, at the time of his death, the chairman of the executive committee of the Grocery Bag Manufacturers' Service Bureau of New York. He was a loyal Jew, and faithful to the requirements of traditional Judaism. He took an abiding pride in his membership of King Solomon Lodge, No. 279, F. & A. M., the Scottish Rite, and Mecca Temple, A. A. O. N. M. S., of New York.

These are the outline facts of the career of one who by his simplicity of demeanor and sincerity of conduct endeared himself to all with whom he came in contact. As one of the oldest friends of Isaac E. Schorsch his premature departure filled me with inexpressible grief. Comparatively young in years, his vigor and joy in life seemed unabated and his thoughts were ever occupied with projects for the benefit of others, never of himself.

Isaac E. Schorsch was a loving husband, devoted father and firm friend. Those who knew him well valued him because of his sterling modesty, his abiding sense of justice, and his innate fidelity to every trust reposed in him. Loyal as he

was to his faith and its ceremonial law, he was equally devoted to his country and its cherished ideals, and his Americanism was steeled to greater acts of sacrifice through the events of the European War.

He leaves to his bereaved widow and son and the many friends who sincerely mourn his loss the example of a rectitude of conduct and a genuinely sympathetic personality which will abide with them through many years.

ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG.

ISAAC N. SELIGMAN.

Isaac N. Seligman was born in Staten Island, N. Y., July 10, 1855, a son of Joseph Seligman, founder of an international banking-house, who came to this country in 1839 and who, with his six brothers, established the firm of J. & W. Seligman & Company. As a boy Isaac N. Seligman was for many years under the immediate guidance of his tutor, Horatio Alger, jr., the famous juvenile writer. He entered Columbia Grammar School at the age of ten, and in 1872 matriculated at Columbia College, graduating with honors four years later. He rowed in the crew which in 1874 defeated Harvard, Yale, and nine other college crews on Saratoga Lake. For a long period after graduation he was president of the Columbia Boat Club.

His business training began in the New Orleans branch of the banking firm where his unusual ability was developed. He was transferred to the New York office in 1878 and was at once recognized as a prominent figure in New York banking circles. His father died in 1880, being succeeded as head of the firm by his brother, the late Jesse Seligman. At the death of the latter, in 1895, Isaac N. Seligman became the head of the house.

As financial agents of the United States Navy Department, Mr. Seligman's firm had many connections throughout the

world. He traveled repeatedly to foreign capitals and was on terms of intimacy with many foreign financiers and statesmen. He took a notable part in preparing the way for the financial arrangements which made possible the acquisition of the Panama Canal by the United States Government. He was also much interested in the scheme to rehabilitate Venezuela by the formation of an international syndicate to pool the debts of the country, the United States acting as sponsor for the transaction. This plan was carried out during the term of President Roosevelt and Venezuela was placed on a firm basis financially. Mr. Seligman was also heavily interested in some of the Central American republics as well as in the Orient, in all of which instances he was working in harmony with the government. To mention the various enterprises at home in which he was interested either as director or investor would fill a large volume.

Mr. Seligman was always an active and sturdy patriot. In his public activities he took a prominent part from the beginning in all the various movements for municipal reform. He was one of the leading figures of the Citizens Union and a valued member of the various committees, like the Committee of Seventy, the Committee of Two Hundred and Fifty, and the Committee of One Hundred. In the New York Chamber of Commerce he took for many years a leading part. He was at the time of his death a member of the executive committee and had been for some years the chairman of one of its most important committees, that on taxation. The reports of this committee contributed not a little toward the reform of public finance. Mr. Seligman was also very much interested in the matter of Civil Service reform, to which he contributed liberally both of his time and of his money.

Among the national movements to which he was particularly attached was the Child Labor Association, of which he was one of the founders. He was also a member of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences and of

the New York Academy of Political Sciences, before both of which bodies he repeatedly made addresses. He took a great interest in the affairs of the American Economic Association.

In the more purely civic organizations, Mr. Seligman took a notable part. Having early become convinced of the need of model tenements, he was one of the founders of the City and Suburban Homes Company, acting as its treasurer for many years. He took a deep interest in the problem of the social evil and was a prominent member of the Committee of Fourteen and later of the Committee of Seven. He was the head of the Civic Forum and the vice-president of the People's Institute, always lending a ready ear to the demands for municipal progress.

The list of his philanthropic associations would be too long to recount in detail. It may be mentioned that he was a vice-president of the United Hebrew Charities and for several decades one of the leading officers of the St. John's Guild.

Mr. Seligman had rare musical and artistic gifts, which he had inherited from his father. He was not only passionately devoted to the piano, but he was a draftsman of no mean order and spent much of his time in drawing. He was one of the trustees of the New York Symphony Society as well as of the New York Oratorio Society and helped to found the Institute of Musical Art, the leading organization of its kind in this country. He was a discriminating connoisseur of paintings and had made a notable collection of the best examples of American art, in which he was especially interested.

MAURICE STERN.

Maurice Stern was born in Ermershaus, Bavaria, January 6, 1855, and attended the public schools of his native village until he was thirteen years old, when he left his father's home and entered business life as an apprentice. At the age of

sixteen he determined to make his way to the new world, and came to America in 1871. He made his home in New Orleans, where a relative through marriage, Benjamin Newgass, had preceded him and had established in 1865 the firm of Lehman, Newgass & Company. Mr. Newgass shortly afterwards returned to England, and the firm became Lehman, Abraham & Co.

Mr. Stern threw himself with enthusiasm into the life of his adopted country, and, as soon as the laws of the country permitted, in 1876, he became an American citizen. After a few years of active service with his firm he was admitted as a partner, and in the early 'eighties the firm name was changed to Lehman, Stern & Co., Ltd.

Mr. Stern served in various capacities in connection with business enterprises. He was a director of the old Whitney Bank and later of the Whitney Central National Bank; a director for some years of the New Orleans Railway & Light Co., and of the American Cities Company; president of the Southern States Land & Timber Company; president of the Sagua de Tancano Land Company; treasurer of the New Orleans Dry Dock and Shipbuilding Company, and was for some years vice-president of the Lane Cotton Mills and for many years a director and treasurer of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange.

Mr. Stern also served as a member of the State Board of Education of Louisiana and on the executive committee of the Panama-Pacific Exposition. He was active in many charitable and philanthropic institutions, having served as a director of the Touro Infirmary; treasurer of the Jewish Widows' & Orphans' Home; member of the American Jewish Committee and treasurer for Louisiana of the Relief Fund for Jewish War Sufferers. He was also a member of the executive committee of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and a past president of Temple Sinai.

Mr. Stern was married in 1883 to Miss Hanna Bloom, a native of New Orleans, from which union there were three children: S. Walter and Edgar B. Stern and Mrs. Walter B. Keiffer.

OSCAR B. TELLER.

Oscar B. Teller was born in Philadelphia, November 10, 1860, and died there, July 26, 1919. He was the son of David and Rebecca Teller, his father having been a prominent merchant and public-spirited citizen of Philadelphia. One of his uncles was the late William B. Hackenburg, who ranked among the foremost in the philanthropic and communal activities of the city. Teller was educated in the public schools and the Central High School of Philadelphia, and studied law both in the office of Daniel M. Fox and at the University of Pennsylvania, graduating from that institution with the degree of LL. B. in 1881. From that year until the time of his death he was engaged in the active practice of his profession, specializing in the law of realty and in the administration of decedents' estates. Practice in these branches came to him by reason of the reputation which he acquired for painstaking accuracy, conscientious fidelity, and conservative judgment.

True to the traditions of his family Mr. Teller, throughout his adult life, devoted himself to communal work, especially among his own people. He was for many years a director of the Rodeph Shalom synagogue and of the Young Men's Hebrew Association. He was also a member of the board of governors and treasurer of Dropsie College from the time of its incorporation until his death. He was active in the work of the Philadelphia branch of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, and served for many years as secretary of Mount Sinai Cemetery Association. To each of these varied activities he gave the best that was in him.

And what was that "best"? It was the product of a genial personality, a wise mind, and a sympathetic nature. He was one of the most dependable of men. Whatever he did he did modestly but thoroughly. He was retiring to a degree of shyness, but when there was work to be done requiring sacrifice and patient endeavor the chairman of many a meeting let his glance pass back over the throng until it sought and found Mr. Teller in the rear of the room, and then entrusted to him the task which he always accepted quietly and willingly, and everyone knew that that task at least would be well performed.

Oscar B. Teller feared God and kept His commandments. He was clean and upright, and the very best type of Jew and citizen.

HORACE STERN.

ADOLPH WERNER.

Adolph Werner, M. S., Ph. D., was born January 5, 1839, in the free city of Frankfort-on-the-Main. His father, Edward Werner, brought his family to this country, landing in New York, June 1, 1850, subsequently opening a money exchange in lower Greenwich Street.

After attending Public School No. 1, Adolph Werner entered the Free Academy, now the College of the City of New York, in 1852, and was graduated as valedictorian in 1857. In the autumn of that year he became instructor at his *alma mater*, and, in 1861, professor of the German language and literature at the unusually early age of twenty-two.

He was secretary of the faculty until 1898, and twice was acting president of the College, a position which he filled with rare dignity and distinction. He retired after fifty-nine years of active service, as professor emeritus, in 1915.

For many years he was president of the New York Teachers' Association, and secretary of its board of trustees, and he was

president of the Gamma of New York chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, and senator, secretary and vice-president of the United Chapters of that fraternity. He was also a member of Alpha Delta Phi fraternity.

Professor Werner never married. He made his home with his three sisters, Mrs. Schoenhof, Mrs. Hoeber, and Miss Ida Werner, the two last-named surviving him.

These are the biographical data of the singularly beautiful and useful life of a unique and gifted personality, whose fine influence upon the generations of young men who passed through the College during three score years, is immeasurable.

His associates in the faculty in a tribute, from which I quote almost literally, said of Professor Werner:

He impressed all who knew him with his power of grasping widely divergent subjects of human knowledge and he might have been the competent head of almost any department in the College. . . . In the performance of his duties as a teacher, he was, at the same time, exact and punctilious in attention to the most trifling details, and prodigal, not only of the treasures of his rich mind, but of his patience and kindness as well. In class and out, he overflowed with encouragement and helpfulness, and no one ever appealed to him in vain.

He was a friendly neighbor, and a modest, yet public-spirited citizen, who loved his adopted land, and who not only never wavered or even hesitated in his allegiance, but whose American spirit was positive and alive, no mere superficial and variable sentiment, but a constituent and inseparable element in his nature. . . .

In mind and character he was a large man, untarnished by anything vulgar, or petty, or selfish. Gentle and generous, but many-sided and sympathetic, he was a sage, whose gaze upon life, in both its serious and humorous aspects, was steady and unflinching, while in his comments, wit and wisdom commingled in the unique expression of a winning, yet weighty personality.

His influence upon the students who came within the sphere of his attraction was potent beyond description, and the charm displayed in his relations with his fellow teachers is indeed unforgettable.

LEE KOHNS.

HENRY N. WESSEL.

Henry N. Wessel, one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas of Philadelphia, died suddenly on March 6, 1920, at the age of forty-nine.

The court, of which he was an honored member, has had a notable history. In it have sat jurists of national fame, and in the brief time allotted to him, he proved himself well entitled to be of their company.

He was in many respects remarkable. To thorough learning, he added untiring industry, exhaustless energy, clear insight into human nature, a thorough knowledge of affairs, ready tact, and, to crown all, an innate and unfaltering love of justice equal and exact to all, high or low, rich or poor.

Short as was his judicial career, he had acquired, as well in the Courts of Appeals as among the whole bar, the highest reputation for judicial capacity and integrity.

Judge Wessel was born on January 2, 1871, at Nebraska City, Nebraska, was educated in the public schools and the high school of that city and in the normal school at Peru, Nebraska.

After graduation from the latter institution, in 1889, he came to Philadelphia, entered the office of one of its leading lawyers, C. Stuart Patterson, and at the same time became a student in the law department of the University of Pennsylvania, whence he, in 1891 was graduated, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Laws. In the following year (1892) he entered upon practice in the office of Mayer Sulzberger, with whom he continued until the latter in January, 1895, assumed judicial office. Thereafter he continued in the practice of the law, at first with Judge Sulzberger's successors, Rich and Boyer, and later from 1902 to the end of 1915 as the head of the law-firm of Wessel & Aarons. His practice at the bar was large, active, varied and lucrative, but he willingly abandoned his enviable position in order to render public service. In

January, 1916, he was sworn in as judge of the Common Pleas, in succession to Judge Sulzberger who then retired.

The exacting nature of his professional and his official duties did not prevent Henry N. Wessel's participation in other activities. Whatever concerned the community was of interest to him and he never flinched from rendering active assistance in any good cause.

The affairs of the Masonic order and of the Jewish community engaged much of his attention. He was a member of Shekinah Lodge, No. 246, A. Y. M., was its Master for a term, and its representative in the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. He was active in the management of the Masonic Homes at Elizabethtown, and was a member of the Committee of Appeals of the R. W. Grand Lodge.

To the Jewish Hospital of Philadelphia he gave long and devoted service, first as secretary and then as treasurer in succession to the lamented William B. Hackenburg. He was also active in the affairs of the Kehillah.

By his early death, not only the Jewish community, but the city and the state have suffered a serious, a lamentable loss.

M. S.

JOHANNA HAAS WESTHEIMER.

Johanna Haas Westheimer, the daughter of Levy and Helena Haas, was born at Grossbieberau, Hessen-Darmstadt, Germany, on September 3, 1845, and died at her home in St. Joseph, Mo., on March 5, 1918. She arrived in this country in 1861 and took up her residence in Chicago, where she received her education at the local Convent of the Sacred Heart. At Chicago on April 21, 1864, she was married to Samuel Westheimer, a prominent merchant of St. Joseph, Mo., in which latter city she thereafter resided to the end of her useful and happy days. For twenty years she was the zealous and faithful treasurer of the Jewish Ladies' Benevo-

lent Society of St. Joseph. Her husband and a daughter, Mrs. Samuel Block, predeceased her but her other children, Mrs. Simon Binswanger, Mrs. Eli Cahn, Mrs. Ben. F. Weil, Mrs. Louis P. Rothschild, Mrs. William B. Klee, Mrs. Louis Florsheim, and Benjamin S. Westheimer, survived their mother.

A true Mother in Israel was Johanna Haas Westheimer. Her lovable personality strikingly impressed itself on her surroundings. Believing implicitly in the traditional Jewish practice of benevolence, her philanthropic work engaged her best thought and endeavor and she was a veritable friend, indeed, of the needy and the unfortunate of her race.

Despite the fact that she lived to pass the span allotted to man by the Psalmist, she remained perennially young in her outlook. She maintained a keen interest in the affairs of the world at all times and displayed an understanding sympathy with the aims and ideals of those, no matter of what age, with whom she came in contact.

Devoted daughter, beloved wife, loved and loving mother, her life and memory will stand as a cherished influence on and possession of her children, to abide with each of them until the close of his or her earthly journey. Moreover, the recollection of her sweet and pervasive goodness is enshrined in the hearts of all who knew and valued the constant friendship of Johanna Haas Westheimer.

ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG.

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CONSTITUTION.

NAME.

I. The name of this Society shall be the "American Jewish Historical Society."

OBJECTS.

II. The objects shall be the collection, preservation, and publication of material having reference to the settlement and history of Jews on the American Continent, and the promotion of the study of Jewish history in general, preferably so far as the same is related to American Jewish history or connected with the causes of emigration from various parts of the world to this continent.

MEMBERS.

III. Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a member by paying five dollars; and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of five dollars.

On payment of one hundred dollars, any person may become a life member exempt from fees.

Any person approved by the Executive Council may become a patron of the Society by paying the sum of fifty dollars a year in fees; and transfers, on request, may be made from regular membership to the class of patrons. Patrons shall have all the rights and privileges of members.

Persons may be elected as honorary members and be exempt from the payment of fees; but no honorary member shall be elected except by the unanimous vote of the Executive Council.

Persons approved by the Executive Council may be elected as corresponding members, and be exempt from the payment of fees.

Any member who shall have neglected or omitted to pay his annual dues for three successive years shall, on notice to him from the Treasurer of that fact and of this provision, *ipso facto* cease to be a member of this Society unless within one month after said notice he pays all of his dues in arrears or shall be excused therefrom by the Executive Council of the Society, which is hereby authorized on proper grounds to remit said dues.

OFFICERS.

IV. The officers shall be a President, four or more Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Curator, and an Executive Council, consisting of the foregoing officers and of twelve other members elected by the Society, with the ex-presidents of the Society. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting of the Society. The additional members of the Executive Council shall be elected as provided in and by Section 3 of Article II of the By-Laws of the Society.

COUNCIL.

V. The Executive Council shall have charge of the general interests of the Society, including the election of members, the calling of meetings, the selection of papers to be read, and the determination of what papers shall be published.

AMENDMENTS.

VI. This Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, notice of such amendment having been given at the previous annual meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Council.

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I.

MEMBERS.

Section 1. The dues of members of the Society, including those elected between the 1st day of October and the 1st day of April in a fiscal year, shall be payable annually on the 1st day of October for said fiscal year in advance. Those joining as members between the 1st day of April and the 1st day of October in a fiscal year shall at such time pay dues only for the current half-year, proportionately, and thereafter shall pay full yearly dues in advance on the 1st day of October in each year.

Section 2. The fiscal year shall extend and include from the 1st day of October to the 30th day of September next ensuing in each calendar year.

Section 3. The President and the Corresponding Secretary, whenever the Society or its Executive Council is not in session, shall have the power to act upon applications for membership in the Society.

Section 4. Members whose dues are more than one year in arrear on the 1st day of October, at the opening of a new fiscal year, shall not be entitled to receive such publications as the Society may thereafter issue until and unless such dues in arrears shall have been fully liquidated.

ARTICLE II.

OFFICERS, ETC.

Section 1. The term for which officers of the Society shall be chosen is one year and until their successors shall have been duly elected and qualified.

Section 2. Vacancies occurring in the term of any officer of the Society shall be filled by the vote of a majority of the members of the Executive Council, present at any meeting thereof, for the remainder of said term.

Section 3. The term for which additional members of the Executive Council of the Society shall be chosen is three years

and until their successors shall have been duly elected and qualified. At the twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Society twelve additional members of the Executive Council shall be chosen, of whom four shall hold office as such for one year, four for two years, and four for three years, in accordance with the action of the Society at such annual meeting. The successors of each of said additional members of the Executive Council shall thereafter hold office as hereinbefore first provided.

Section 4. Vacancies occurring in the term of any additional member of the Executive Council of the Society shall be filled, until the annual meeting of the Society thereafter, by the vote of a majority of the members of the Executive Council, present at any meeting thereof. At the annual meeting of the Society thereafter, such vacancies shall be filled by election by the Society for the remainder of said original term.

ARTICLE III.

DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

Section 1. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and the Executive Council, fix the time and place for holding the meetings of the latter, appoint the members of all committees when not named in resolutions, fill vacancies therein, and add to the membership thereof when requested so to do by the chairmen thereof. He shall have a general supervision of the Society and be *ex officio* a member of all committees.

Section 2. In case of the death, resignation or inability of the President to perform his duties, his functions and powers shall devolve upon the Vice-Presidents in the order of seniority respectively. If the President and all the Vice-Presidents shall be absent from any meeting of the Society or its Executive Council, a chairman *pro tempore* shall be chosen for such meeting by the members present thereat.

Section 3. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, under the direction of the President. He shall have charge of the Seal, Charter, Constitution, By-Laws and records of the Society and certify or attest all instruments from the Society. He shall issue all notices of meetings, and notify all members of their election and of such other matters as may be directed by the Society, the Executive Council or the President. He shall receive, duly file and safely keep all papers,

reports and documents, other than those appertaining to the Treasurer and the Curator, belonging to the Society, and at each meeting of the Society or the Executive Council report such letters and communications, as far as practicable, as he may have received since the time of his previous report. He shall distribute the minutes of meetings of the Executive Council among the members thereof within two weeks after each meeting has been held, and generally perform such other duties for the Society's business and development as may be necessary, proper and requisite.

Section 4. The Recording Secretary shall keep fair and accurate records of the minutes of each meeting of the Society and its Executive Council, and promptly transmit the same, after each has adjourned, to the Corresponding Secretary.

Section 5. The Treasurer shall receive, collect and hold subject to the order of the Executive Council all moneys, securities and other valuable papers of the Society, deposit all moneys in one or more banks or trust companies in the City of New York or elsewhere, approved by the Executive Council, pay all bills when the same are accompanied by vouchers drawn, signed and approved by the President and the Corresponding Secretary jointly, and render a financial report at each regular annual meeting of the Society and each meeting of the Executive Council. On the 1st day of April and the 1st day of October in each fiscal year he shall send bills for unpaid dues to the members of the Society, and shall notify the Corresponding Secretary of all changes and terminations in the membership of the Society. He shall notify the Corresponding Secretary on the 1st days of March and November in each fiscal year of all the members who on such dates shall be in arrears for dues, and the amounts of such arrearages.

Section 6. The Curator, under the direction of the Executive Council, shall have charge and superintendence of the library and collections of the Society, and the care and arrangement of the books, manuscripts and other articles belonging to the Society. He shall cause to be prepared and kept to date a proper catalogue and list of the same, and shall acknowledge the receipt of accessions donated to the Society. He shall expend in the purchase of books and other articles, and for their safekeeping and preservation, such sums of money, with the approbation of the Executive Council or the President, as shall from time to time be appropriated for the purpose, and render proper vouchers therefor to

the Executive Council. He shall make a full report, at each regular annual meeting of the Society, on the condition and progress of the library and the collections of the Society.

ARTICLE IV.

MEETINGS.

Section 1. There shall be held not less than two stated meetings of the Executive Council in each fiscal year. Written notice thereof shall be sent to each member of the Executive Council at least two weeks in advance thereof.

Section 2. Special meetings of the Executive Council shall be called upon the written request of at least five members thereof.

Section 3. Six members of the Executive Council shall be the requisite number for a quorum to transact business at any meeting thereof.

Section 4. Fifteen members of the Society shall be the requisite number for a quorum to transact business at any meeting thereof.

Section 5. Nothing herein contained shall operate to prevent the Society or its Executive Council from voting upon any proposition laid before either or both by mail.

ARTICLE V.

COMMITTEES.

Section 1. The following standing committees, namely: on publication, finance, and audit, shall be appointed by the President at the regular annual meeting of the Society, or within thirty days after the termination thereof, to hold office until their successors are appointed.

Section 2. The committee on publication shall consist of not less than three nor more than five members, who must be officers of the Society or additional members of its Executive Council. It shall have charge of preparing, editing and issuing the publications of the Society, and has the authority by delegation from the Executive Council to determine what papers shall be published.

Section 3. The committee on finance shall consist of at least three members, of whom the Treasurer shall be one, all of whom shall be members of the Executive Council. It shall have charge

of the investments of the Society, with full power to make or alter any such in its discretion, and shall supervise and foster the permanent fund of the Society. Investments of the funds of the Society shall be limited to such as are lawful for savings banks and trustees in the State of New York, pursuant to the laws thereof made and provided from time to time.

Section 4. The committee on audit shall consist of two members. Its duty shall be to audit and examine the Treasurer's accounts and the vouchers thereunto appertaining and to report the result of its examination to the President or the Executive Council.

Section 5. A special committee on local arrangements shall be appointed to consist of not less than three nor more than five members of the Society, preferably residing in the locality at which each annual meeting of the Society takes place. Its duty shall be to care for and supervise all the details of the local arrangements for such annual meeting, including the edifice in which the same shall be held.

Section 6. A special committee on nominations shall be appointed to consist of not less than two nor more than five members of the Society, and no candidate for office shall be debarred therefrom by reason of his membership of this committee. Its duty shall be to report a list of nominees as officers and additional members of the Executive Council of the Society for election at the annual meetings of the Society.

Section 7. The right to make additional nominations from the floor at the annual meetings of the Society on the part of any duly-qualified member thereof is not abridged in any way by the provisions of Section 6 hereof.

Section 8. A special committee on programme shall be appointed to consist of three members, of whom the Corresponding Secretary shall be one. Its duty shall be to prepare and suitably print and distribute the programme of each annual meeting of the Society. It shall endeavor to secure appropriate publicity therefor, and shall have the right to determine the fitness and availability of papers to be submitted at such annual meetings, and the determination of the time to be allotted to each for presentation thereat.

Section 9. Special committees shall be appointed by the President pursuant to resolution of the Society or its Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.

FUNDS.

Section 1. The permanent fund of the Society shall consist of the donations or bequests made to it, the payments received from members for life, and the interest and accumulations of the same. It shall not be drawn against except by and with the approval of the Executive Council by a formal vote to that end. The permanent fund shall be kept and used primarily to further research work in which the Society as such may be interested.

Section 2. The President shall have power at any time to authorize the payment of a sum or sums, not exceeding fifty dollars in the aggregate, in a single instance, out of the general fund of the Society, for the purpose of subventioning research work of any nature approved by him.

Section 3. The publication fund of the Society, as at present constituted, shall be employed so far as possible to defray the cost of the publications issued by the Society. Payments out of this fund shall be made by the Treasurer upon vouchers signed by the President and the Corresponding Secretary jointly.

Section 4. The general fund of the Society shall be employed to defray the current running expenses of the Society. Payments out of this fund shall be made by the Treasurer upon vouchers signed by the President and the Corresponding Secretary jointly.

ARTICLE VII.

SEAL.

Section 1. The seal of the Society shall consist of the following design: In the field a scroll on the face of which appear the words (in Hebrew), *זכר ימות עולם*, and on the circumference, American Jewish Historical Society.

ARTICLE VIII.

AMENDMENTS.

Section 1. These by-laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any annual meeting of the Society, notice of such amendment having been given in the printed programme of such meeting, or the proposed amendment having received the approval of the Executive Council.

Section 2. To entitle a proposed amendment to these by-laws to be included in the programme of an annual meeting of the Society, it must be formulated in writing, signed by not less than five members of the Society, communicated to the Corresponding Secretary not less than sixty days before the date of the annual meeting of the Society at which action thereon is contemplated, and notified to the members of the Society not less than ten days before the annual meeting thereof.

LIST OF MEMBERS.¹

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Hon. William Howard Taft, Chief Justice of the United States,
Washington, D. C.

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B. W. I.

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¹ This list is corrected to December 15, 1921. Kindly notify the
corresponding secretary of all errors and changes therein.

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